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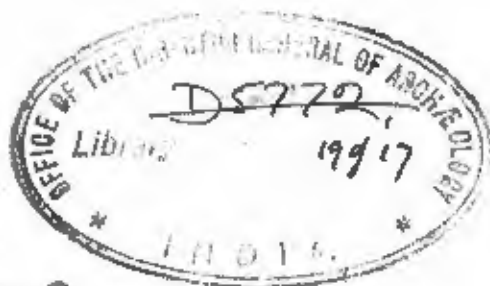
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THE
PALI LITERATURE OF
BURMA



BY

MABEL HAYNES BODE PH.D.



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PREFATORY NOTE

I wish to express my best thanks to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for giving this little work a place among the Society's publications. To Professor Rhys Davids I owe, once again, a grateful acknowledgment of inspiration to begin a task and encouragement throughout. To him also as Editor of the Journal of the Pali Text Society my thanks are due for permission to reprint in Chapters I and II some of the material appearing in my article, "Early Pali Grammarians in Burma" (JPTS., 1908). My obligations to many others, by whose labours I have profited, will be seen in the pages of the Essay. Finally, I can only thank Dr. Barnett for his untiring kindness by reminding him that there are very few of those pages which do not owe something to his advice and help.

M. H. B.

LONDON, 1909.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BEFEO. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*. Hanoi.
1901, etc.
- GV. Gandhavamsa (JPTS.). 1886. Index, 1896.
- JPTS. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*. London. 1882, etc.
- JRAS. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London. 1834, etc.
- P.TH. Pitakatthamain. Rangoon. 1906.
- P.T.S. Pali Text Society.
- SVD. Sāsanaṃśāradīpa. Colombo. 1881.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Students may consult with advantage—

I. The whole of the Pali Text Society's publications (for the older Pali literature). Frowde. London, 1892, etc.

II. Translations of the same which have appeared in various languages (see the useful bibliography of works on Buddhism, by Mr. A. J. Edmunds, in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1903).

Particularly interesting for comparison of Burmese versions with Pali are the translations of Jātakas from the Burmese, by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, years 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896. [Cf. the Jātaka, translated from the Pali by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1895, etc.]

III. Bibliographies and Catalogues as follows:—

1. Bibliographies.

(a) General. Scherman (Professor L.). *Oriental Bibliography*. (Quarterly.) Berlin, London, Paris, and New York.

(b) Indo-China. Cordier (Henri). *Essai d'une bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à la presqu'île indo-chinoise. Première partie—Birmanie et Assam. Toung Pao, série II, vol. vi.*

(c) Burma. Ireland (Alleyne). *The Province of Burma, a report prepared for the University of Chicago* (with extensive bibliography). Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Boston and New York, 1906.

2. Catalogues.

(a) The catalogues of Pali and Burmese MSS. and printed books in the Oriental Department of the British Museum.

(b) The same in the India Office Library.

(c) The alphabetical list of manuscripts and books in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon, by C. Duroiselle. This collection offers an excellent field for research, being under the care of Professor Duroiselle, who, in his large and intimate knowledge of Burmese literature, stands alone among Palists.

(d) Catalogues of Pali and Burmese MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

IV. Finally, a few examples may be given from the mass of Pali and Burmese books in the British Museum. They consist chiefly of editions of celebrated Pali works, commentaries by Burmese authors, anthologies, and translations into the vernacular. The descriptions are borrowed from Dr. Barnett's catalogue.

Canonical Works. Suttapitaka (entire). Edited by Ko Aung Min Hsaya and others. 1904.

Cariyāpitaka, with Burmese exegetical commentary. Mandalay, 1899.

Milindapañhavatthu. Burmese translation from the *Milinda*. Rangoon, 1882.

Abhidhamma. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, of Anuruddha, followed by Sumangalasāmi's *Tikā-Kyaw* or *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvaṇi* in elucidation thereof, and copious Burmese commentary. Rangoon, 1898.

Manimeddha-jotaka Kyan. A Burmese treatise on Buddhist psychology, based on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, and illustrated from Pali texts. Maulmein, 1882.

Saṅkhepavyākaraṇa. Burmese epitome of *Abhidhamma* doctrine as codified in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, illustrated from Pali texts. Rangoon, 1899.

Paramatthamedhāni Kyan. Treatise on the four conditions of the absolute. Illustrated from Pali Texts. Rangoon, 1895.

Grammar. *Mahārūpasiddhi*, with Burmese interpretation. Rangoon, 1906.

Nvādi-Moggallāna. Pali treatise on Grammar, by Saṅgharakkhita, based on the Grammar of Moggallāna, with Burmese *nisāya*. Rangoon, 1900.

Alankāra-nissāya. Being the *Subodhālaṅkāra* of Saṅgharakkhita in Pali, with commentary. Rangoon, 1889.

Dhātuvatthudīpaka. Treatise in Pali verse on the significations of Pali roots, by Aggadhammālaṅkāra, with Burmese commentary. Rangoon, 1899.

Law. *Navadhammasattha*, by Hain-pyu-mya-shin, king of Toungoo. A Pali digest of nine law-books. Law of Inheritance. Edited with Burmese translation. Akyab, 1894.

Veda. *Makaranda-bedin-let-ye-Tikā*, commentary on the *Makaranda-bedin*, handbook of astrology. Mandalay, 1906.

INTRODUCTION

THE Pali literature of Burma owes its existence to the Pali literature of India. It is many years since the latter was first explored by the great scholars and pioneers—Fausböll, Lassen, Rhys Davids, Trenckner, Childers, Oldenberg—whose reward has been a gain to Oriental learning vast enough to content even them. With time a part of the material discovered has been brought within the reach of students by critical editing. Buddhist literature is immense in quantity and bewildering in varied interest, and it was never more difficult than now to avoid being too much of the specialist. But the student of Buddhism who limits himself to one language or looks for solution of all questions in one literature risks slipping into an orthodoxy of his own. A sounder principle has long guided Buddhist studies; modern research has gone forth, like Asoka's missionaries, to Further India, China, Japan, Tibet, Siam, and French Indo-China, armed with patience as they were with conviction, as resolutely determined to learn as they were to teach.

There is need nowadays to seek further in Burma, or rather, need to be better acquainted with what has already been found there. Among the countries in which the ideas and traditions of Buddhism are inseparably bound up with the Pali canon Burma possesses a special interest which we hardly feel in the case of Ceylon, for Burma shows how the leaven of Indian thought worked in a race and idiom having none of the close relationship with India which we recognize in all that is most characteristic of the literature of Ceylon. We may say that the essentially Indian genius, the psychological subtleties, and high thoughts of Buddhism have forced the Burmese language to grow, deepen, and expand continually. When Burmese was at last raised (in or about the fourteenth century) to the level of a literary language, it was by the addition of a great body of Indian words necessary to express ideas beyond the scope of that picturesque vernacular. Being

an agglutinative language, Burmese lacks the force, terseness, and delicacy that Pali owes to its nominal and verbal inflections and its power of forming elaborate compounds. Thus before the translating period, authors of Burmese race had studied Pali and learned to use it; ever since the twelfth century it has been a tradition of Burmese scholars to produce literary work in Pali, and it is with this work only that we are now concerned.

A survey of the Pali literature of Burma is not quite a new undertaking. In the year 1879 a report on the subject was drawn up for the Government of India by Dr. Emu. Forchhammer, Professor of Pali at Rangoon, who had begun a thorough search for manuscripts in monasteries and private collections, and whose premature death cruelly cut short a work full of promise. This and other reports of Forchhammer, on the archaeological remains of Arakan and Burma, are Government publications, and his studies of Buddhist law (published by Sir John Jardine with his own valuable Notes, 1882-3, and in the *Jardine Prize Essay*) are now extremely rare books, and the stores of knowledge they contain are not available at every moment. And we ought also to profit by the labours of that brilliant and far-seeing scholar Minayeſſ, to whom we owe the discovery and publication (to mention only one work) of the *Gandhavamsa* ('Book History'), written in Burma, a short but interesting account of the earlier Pali literature of Ceylon and Burma. The *Gandhavamsa* is unfortunately very sparing of details, and gives us little information as to the period of the works it enumerates, but its help is most useful in settling some questions of authorship and place. Minayeſſ, who used this book for his *Nouvelles Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, does not offer any conclusion as to its date, but from comparison with the *Sāsanavamsa* and a still more modern Burmese work, the *Pitakatthamain* (1906), it appears to be a seveneenth century production.

For both the early and modern periods (from the twelfth to

¹ I have to thank Professor Barnett for bringing to my notice this useful Burmese bibliography of Buddhist works.

the nineteenth centuries) we find great help in the *Sāsana-vamśa*,¹ which, happily, observes the good traditions of Burmese chronicles and cares for chronology.² It enables us at least to sketch in outline a connected story, while but for this record we could only enumerate works of doubtful date and mention authors without knowing what period in the growth of their country and Order had brought them forth. The *Sāsana-vamśa*, though a very mine of interest as compared with the arid little *Gandhava-vamśa*, has its limitations. It is confused, rambung, and prejudiced. The author, a high ecclesiastic of Min-dôn-min's reign, belonged by all his convictions and traditions to the *Sihajasangha*, an important school or sect having, as the name shows, a close connexion with the fraternity in Ceylon. As for the other communities, whose spiritual forefathers refused to look on the Mahavihara, that famous monastery of the old commentators, as the very centre and hearth of orthodoxy, they interest him only moderately. He will sometimes dismiss one of their authors with the driest, curtest mention of the man and his book, while he will delight us with details and anecdotes of more orthodox writers. It would be interesting to have the picture filled in for us by a biographer influenced by the old Talaing tradition, the tradition, that is, of Lower Burma. For this school, known as the *Mrammasangha* (fraternity of Burma), maintained that there was no need to have recourse to Ceylon for teachers in the unbroken 'line of descent' from the ancient missionaries. This question, almost impossible to settle with certainty, after the vicissitudes that the Buddhist Sangha had seen in both countries, divided the Order in Burma with a sharp line of

¹ This text (edited for the Pali Text Society in 1897 by the present writer) has supplied much material for the following chapters. Other sources have been used to verify or correct where it has been possible. The whole of the *Sāsana-vamśa*'s literary information, as far as it concerns Burma, is given in the course of the present work.

² I have thought it best to adopt throughout this essay the chronology of my two principal Burmese authorities, *Paññāsāmi* and the author of the *Pitakatthamaini*. But I must remind the reader that their (traditional) starting point, the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, is no longer placed by scholars at 544 B.C. but some sixty years later. See article by Dr Fleet, J.R.A.S., April, 1906, *The Origin of the Buddha-avataha*.

partisanship. Therefore we must beware of considering the *Sāsanavamsa* a complete record of monastic work. Nevertheless the author's own point of view is instructive, and we have no right to say that he does not try to be impartial. And if we follow only his guidance in our choice of the books to explore we must arrive at some knowledge of what is, after all, of the most interest in such researches, we can see the intellectual development of Burma through Buddhism and the adaptation of the non Indian mind to Indian culture, with the conception of science and the standard of literary art evolved in that adapting process.

We cannot, of course, do justice to these questions in a short sketch. The effect of Indian Buddhism on Burmese life and literature has many manifestations. We can instance some as widely apart as codified law and religious art. In the remote past we find both Brahmanic and Buddhist sources of Burmese written law. And the religious art of the country is by no means without its problems (for example, the extent of Mahāyāna or 'Northern' influence), which those who are masters of this subject are gradually solving for us.¹ So the subject spreads in its fascinating complexity, if we will let it, far beyond our simpler theme, but it must suffice for this essay to follow (if with less serene confidence) the way marked out by the devout and simple scholars of Burma, who have left us a literature derived entirely from the Pali canon and representing almost invariably the *Hinayāna*² traditions of Buddhist belief.

Beginning with the study of the language consecrated in Ceylon as the instrument of the highest teaching, then commenting and composing in Pali and at last interpreting that teaching in their native tongue, the Burmese monks have left us a complete revelation of their mind. Neither the sculpture, painting, legends, plays, customs, nor law-codes of the Burmese,

¹ See p. vii.

² This Buddhist phrase, 'the lesser vehicle,' may be employed as a convenient term for the tradition as observed in the southern countries early won to Buddhism, a tradition more sober in its legend and somewhat more austere and practical in its morality than the Mahāyāna (or school of the 'greater vehicle').

significant as they are, could serve to show us what their religious literature alone unfolds—their manner of grappling with an abstract subject.

Buddhism, as any other Indian system would have done, gave them a large opportunity. They did their best with it. But Buddhist theories demanded an effort of abstraction doubly severe for learners whose first lesson in philosophy was learned with those theories. In India, where certain of the Upanisads belonged to a yet earlier phase of thought than the doctrines of Gotama, men's minds were prepared for Buddhist conceptions. A philosophical language was already formed in which the teacher or the disputant could lead his hearers step by step in an idiom they knew to conclusions not unfamiliar to their minds. But in Burma the grammar of the Buddhist texts first had to be studied, and when the great legend of the Founder was learned and the code of the Order had grown familiar, there was still a new world to conquer, a new science to master. After the Sutta and Vinaya there was the Abhidhamma to interpret. Here perhaps we shall find the Pali compositions of Burmese authors less interesting than their translations into Burmese.

The Sanskrit commentaries composed in India on Buddhist texts are enlightening in proportion as the student is familiar with all Indian philosophies and can point out parallels and contrasts; the Pali commentaries of Burma naturally only lead us back to the Sinhalese and Indian models they faithfully copy. When we leave Pali and come to Burmese interpretations of Abhidhamma texts we feel that we follow our commentators in a (to us) somewhat dark adventure; but yet the effort of these authors in their own vernacular is interesting as an effort to do more than recite the consecrated words of their ancient masters. Here is the key to the sense really given by the Burmese to Indian abstractions, the key not to be found where they use the exotic and traditional Pali form.

¹ A friend has suggested to me a comparison between these studies in Burma and the gradual mastery by Bede and Alfred and their followers in England of the philosophy of Paul and John. It was not until Wyclif's time, six centuries after Bede, that these abstract questions were discussed in English.

By it we have access to some curious treasure, rewarding the search of the scholar familiar with the Burmese tongue, provided he be a Paliist and (be it said without impiety) endowed with two of the Buddhist 'perfections'—the power to spend himself and be very patient. Knowledge of the Pali commentaries of Burma is the natural beginning of this attractive enterprise, but by no means the end.

The commentaries, though the most important part, are not the whole of the Pali literature. The technicalities of Indian grammar have attracted Burmese authors from an early period. The work of the famous Kaccāyana is all but canonical among them, and the procession of his followers and commentators stretches through eight centuries of literary history. The qualities of mind innate in the quick-witted Burmese race were lent to the service of the Word so religiously respected. The Pali scriptures had not been a hundred years in Upper Burma before a grammar—the *Saddanīti*—was composed in Pali that called forth the wondering admiration of the scholars of Ceylon, though Ceylon was certainly the forerunner and model of Burma in exegesis.

Again, the practical side of monastic life was a subject well within the scope of the Paliists of Burma. We have very numerous examples of work in this field, from the time of their first controversy on Ordination in Narapati's reign (A.D. 1167-1204) till the present day.

In the secular domain the Pali language has been employed (as we should expect) where solemnity was called for or the sense of an antique tradition was needed to support authority, for instance, some important law-codes exist, and others probably existed, in Pali versions. Pali is also the language chosen for the collections of maxims known as the '*Nīti*' literature, and for various chronicles (we can instance the *Rājavalāṇṇa*, *Sāsana-valāṇṇa*, and *Gandhavalāṇṇa*).

Finally we come to the very limited province of Pali verse in Burma. Here and there among our authors we catch a glimpse of scholars who have a touch of the poet in them and some of the poet's ambition. We do not know that they ever approached the favourite theme of the poets of all ages.

If they did, the chronicles have passed it over in silence. A love story sometimes forms part of an edifying narrative from Pali sources, but the love lyric is the undisputed realm of the poets of the vernacular. Jātakas and other moral legends were the material usually chosen for the Pāli poet to work upon. Sometimes the beauties of a city or the glory of the reigning king were extolled with all the author's resources of prosody and imagery. But scholarship in Burma has not produced poets worthy to rank with those of Ceylon.

The following pages are but a sketch, and perhaps a sketch without colour. Our purpose is not to describe again the outward aspect of the temple, the monastery, and the village, very vividly presented to Western readers by learned and sympathetic writers from Bishop Bigandet onwards. So many Europeans have come under the charm of Burma—of the Burmese people, their life and religion—that there is no need to do more than recall to readers the names of the writers¹ who have made that charm a familiar thing to us. We have chosen for our study the less well-known subject of the Pāli books of Burma. The authors were the ancestors and masters of the monks of to-day, through whom we know those old-time scholars and can still see, as it were, a far-off picture of their lives, their schools, and their work.

See the Bibliographies, p. vii.



THE PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA

CHAPTER I

THE CLASSICAL PALI LITERATURE—ARRIVAL OF THE PALI TRIPITAKA IN BURMA

Burma, under which name we may conveniently, if not quite accurately, include Pegu, Arakan, and Martaban, has been the home of Buddhism for many centuries. No Buddhist country has kept the antique faith more sheltered from change. Yet even the chronicles of monasteries and such strictly ecclesiastical works as the *Sasanavamsa*¹ cannot unfold their quiet tale without a necessary mention of rivalries and wars between these neighbouring states, when the balance went down first on the side of Burma, then of Pegu, when Mongol armies marched on the Burmese capital, or the Burmese king marched into Siam. Rulers changed and the fortunes of the Fraternity with them, but the doctrine and the tradition suffered hardly any alteration, and the countries of Further India developed an intellectual life which was before all the product of Buddhist ideas and the work of Buddhist monks. For Burma the first language of abstract thought was an Indian language; the rational and moral force which, for a large body of the Burmese people, broke down the thralldom of ancient superstitions, was inspired by India. By the predominance of Buddhist influence in Burmese culture Burmese studies belong rightfully to the great field of Indianism.

We must, though the subject has already been fully and admirably treated by others, remind the reader here of the form in which the Buddhist doctrine, enshrined in a canon of scripture, was conveyed to Further India.

The language was Pali, the literary dialect closely allied to Sanskrit. Pali is usually called by the Burmese the *māgadhābhāṣā*

¹ See Introduction.

(idiom of Magadha)¹ or *mālabhāsā* ('the original language'),² but this identification of Pali with the spoken dialect of Magadha is now known to be incorrect. It seems needless to add any remarks about the Pali literature, since its capacities have been described and, better still, proved by the authors of scholarly and beautiful translations which everyone nowadays has an opportunity of reading.³ But a few words on the classical books may be in place.

The Tripitaka.

The Tripitaka (Pali, *Tipitaka*), to use the now familiar Buddhist name for the three great groups of canonical texts, the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma *pitakas* ('baskets'), is known in Burma in the Pali recension consecrated in Ceylon.

The Abhidhamma and Sutta Pitakas.

For some remarks on the last of the three collections, the Abhidhamma, the reader is referred to Chapter IV of this essay. As to the Suttapitaka, the first thing we observe on looking into characteristic collections of Pali-Burmese MSS. and books is that of the great Nikayas claiming to be the word of the Buddha (the Aṅguttara, Majjhima, Dīgha, Samyutta, and Khuddaka) the Dīghanikaya is the best known, the most studied, the most frequently to be found.⁴ On the reason for this preference we can only risk a guess. The Dīghanikaya, though containing the long (*dīgha*) discourses, is the smallest of the collections and hence the easiest to study. It is a principle of the Burmese to avoid all unnecessary pains

¹ The ancient kingdom of Magadha was the region now called Bihar.

² The late lamented Professor Fiechel (in a valuable paper on fragments of the Buddhist canon found in Chinese Turkestan) speaks of the tradition that the Māgadhi was the language of the first age of the world and spoken by the Buddhas. 'Es ist begreiflich dass man später die Māgadhi mit dem Pāli identifizierte. Dass aber der Pālikanon Spuren eines älteren Māgadhi kanons aufweist ist längst erkannt worden' (R. Fiechel, Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mai, 1904, p. 307). See also Oldenberg's edition of the Vinayapitakam, Introduction, and the Preface to Professor E. Müller's Pāli Grammar.

³ See Bibliography.

⁴ This is confirmed by information Mr. Shwe Zan Aung has kindly sent me.

and trouble. Without any disrespect to Burmese Buddhists, it is natural to suppose that they have chosen the shortest task, especially when we remember that the Dighanikāya contains suttas of great importance.¹ For example, we find there the Brahmajāla Suttanta, dealing with the Sixty-two Wrong Views; the Sāmaññaphala, on the Fruits of the Ascetic Life, the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna, on Self-mastery; and, chief of all, the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, on the Buddha's last discourses and death, that is, on the supreme moment in the history of the Order, since it was then that the Buddhist *sangha* became the guardian of the departed Master's teaching. On the whole the essential doctrines, as the Burmese Buddhist conceives them, are to be found in this collection and the commentaries.

The Khuddakanikāya calls for a word of notice here. This collection contains among other texts the Dhammapada, the Suttaṇipata, and the immortal Jātaka book, which, as might be expected from its character, has become part of the popular as well as the scholarly literature of Burma. Very nearly connected with it is the *Paritta*, a good example of ancient wisdom and piety crystallized into a talisman.

Mahāparittam

The Paritta or Mahāparitta, a small collection of texts gathered from the Sutta-pitaka, is, to this day, more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book. The Paritta, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils physical and moral. It has naturally come to have the usual value of charms and exorcisms, a value hardly religious in the Buddhist sense of the word. But some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of a purely religious and ethical tone. The best example of these is the famous

¹ The Dighanikāya was chosen by Professor Rhys Davids for his selection of typical suttas translated under the title *Dialogues of Buddha*. The suttas instanced above have also been translated elsewhere. See the useful bibliography by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1902-3.

Mangalasutta¹ of the Suttampāṭa, verses in praise of the holy life, uttered by a *devatā* (local divinity), who came to pay homage to the Buddha in the grove of Jetavana.

The use of the Paritta is said to have had the Buddha's sanction.² There is an example of this practice (by acknowledged saints) in the well-known legend of Sona and Uttara, Asoka's missionaries to Lower Burma. Their first act on arriving was to vanquish the demon (*yakkhiṇī*), who spread terror in the land by devouring at their birth all boys born in the king's palace. The victory of the holy men was accomplished by the Paritta.³ We find another illustration in an interesting little incident related of Jetavana, a Burmese monk and famous teacher of the sixteenth century. When Jetavana believed himself at the point of death he thought of one whom he considered fit to be his successor. At that moment the monk on whom his thoughts were fixed dreamed a strange dream of a dead man, which, on waking, he related to the novice lying near him. A *paritta* was then pronounced by one of the monks to avert any evil foreshadowed by the dream.⁴

In the days of Anorata,⁵ the first notable king in authentic Burmese history (who reigned in the eleventh century), we hear of the Paritta turned to a dangerous use. Corrupt and cynical monks proclaimed it an easy means of disembarassing man's guilty conscience from all wrongdoing even to matricide. But Burmese Buddhism has, on the whole, kept exorcism within the bounds of a superstition, contrary no doubt to the true doctrine, but not grossly transgressing the ethical code of the religion.

Burmese tradition adds to the fifteen ancient texts of the Khuddakapāṭha⁶ four other works—the Milindapañha,⁷ the

¹ See Fausbøll's edition of the Suttanipāṭa, p. 45 (P.T.S. edition, 1884, Glossary, 1894), and translation, SBE, vol. x, pt. 11.

² See Milindapañha (ed. Treuekner), pp. 150 ff., and Rhys Davids' translation, *Questions of King Milinda*, SBE, xxxv, pp. 213 ff.

³ See Sās, p. 38.

⁴ Sās, p. 101.

⁵ See below, p. 12.

⁶ Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāṭa, Vimānavatthu, Peṭavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Mahānidāna, Paṭisaṃbhūtasamgā, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpākāsa.

⁷ See above.

Suttasaṅgaha,¹ the *Peṭakopadesa*,² and the *Netti* or *Nettipakaraṇa*.³ This last is studied in Burma for its analysis and explanation of passages from the sacred writings, with which, as the learned editor has said, 'the author possessed a great familiarity.'

We now turn to the *Vinaya Pitaka*.

The *Vinaya*, as known in Burma, is the monastic code handed down by the Theravādin sect in Ceylon, that is, the sect professing the doctrine (*rāda*) of the *theras* or ancients. The name was assumed by the strictest sect at the time of the celebrated schisms beginning, according to tradition, in the second century after the Buddha's death. The influence of Ceylon on Burma has been, as we shall see, paramount in questions of monastic discipline, and the code drawn up by the ancient Sinhalese *theras* has been carefully preserved by the Burmese fraternity in the letter and the spirit ever since its arrival in Burma in the eleventh century. A great deal of *Vinaya* literature, mostly explanatory and sometimes controversial, has grown up round the code from the time of the early commentators to the present day. The important works by Sinhalese authors on this subject formed the base of Burmese studies, and on the other hand orthodoxy in Ceylon has often been reinforced at a later period by teachers and texts from Burma.

The complete *Vinaya* is rather voluminous,⁴ but an epitome of the Discipline in the form of two short metrical texts, the

¹ See the *Pitakatthamain*, pp. 12, 13. The *Suttasaṅgaha* was written at Anurādhapura in Ceylon by a *thera* whose name is not recorded.

² In Buddhist tradition the *Peṭakopadesa* and *Nettipakaraṇa* are both ascribed to Mahākaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. The *Gandhavaṇṇa* (p. 86) and *Pitakatthamain* (p. 13) speak of Kaccāyana, author of the *Netti*, as chaplain to Candapajjota of Uṇṇi in the Avanti country (see Introduction to the late Professor Hardy's Introduction to the *Netti*, p. 12, note, also pp. vii and xix). Professor Hardy's conclusion was that the work was composed at an early date, perhaps about the first century of our era, and put into its present form by the commentator Dhammapāṇi, and that the author's name may have been Kaccāyana, considered by posterity to have been Mahākaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. 'He is, however altogether different from the grammarian Kaccāyana, who likewise was regarded as identical with Mahākaccāyana' (*Netti*, Introd., p. xxv.). On Candapajjota see *Vinaya*, i. 276 ff.

⁴ It has been critically edited by H. Oldenberg in five volumes (1879-83).

Mulasikkhā and Khuddasikkhā, was composed at an early period,¹ and these with the Dvematikā, consisting of the Bhikkhupāṭimokkha and Bhikkhunipāṭimokkha (the ancient résumé of the code for monks and nuns respectively) and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī (commentary on the Pāṭimokkha), were recognized as sufficient Vinaya knowledge for those who could not study more.² In modern times the above are called the 'Four Smaller Vinayas', and are studied by those who have not time for the complete Vinaya.³

In Burmese Pali collections we find no less frequently than the Paritta of the laity the Kammavācā of the Mendicant Order. These texts have a purely ecclesiastical use, though it would be a mistake to call them 'ritual'. The first work of the first Buddhist mission to Burma was undoubtedly to receive into the Saṅgha believers wishing to renounce the world. For those, before they entered on further studies, a knowledge of the sacred word in Pali would probably begin with the formal and rigid language of the Kammavācā, and this association lends a touch of interest to some extremely wearisome matter. First, the formulas of the *pabbayā* (renunciation) and *upasampadā* (ordination) must have become familiar. Then the ordinary course of monastic life included various ceremonies, each of which had its prescribed form for the presiding theras. The bhikkhus taking part were silent, unless dissenting from what was proposed, but in cases where they had offended, acknowledged transgression of the rules aloud.

The Kammavācā cannot, of course, be called literature, but it must be noticed as a text representing the immovable tradition of old days in Burma. The ceremonies of admission to the Saṅgha and so forth have continued to modern

¹ They were written in Ceylon. See Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the British Museum*, Introduction.

² Professor Barnett has pointed out to me that the compilation most recently re-edited in Burma (by Hsaya Ū Pye) as *Dvematikā* contains the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunipāṭimokkha, the Kammakammavinicchaya, extracts from the Parivāra and other Vinaya texts, and a Pāṭimokkhabuddesa, Burmese notes on the Pāṭimokkha.

³ I owe this information to Mr Shwe Zan Aung's kindness.

times, accompanied by the ancient formulas; and in the history of the Order we find that some lively movements in literature and one most important mission to Ceylon were due to ceremonial questions, particularly the question of consecrating boundaries (*sīmā*).¹ For this last was a formality on which the validity of ordination and thence the 'legitimate descent' of teachers depended, and such consecration has always been considered in Burma of great importance to religion and the religious reputation of a region or community.

In all these texts we find the same conventional character and monotonous repetition.² Even the MSS. in which the *Kammavacās* are handed down suit the texts. The thick, square lettering, pompous and decorative, the shining lacquer, and heavily gilded, silvered, or ivory-plated leaves, bear a likeness to church-property wherever found. Yet we should not forget that they are the texts of a religion that has known neither altar nor sacrifice, and if in Burma the system has developed clerics and a hierarchy, it has never had a privileged priesthood.

The Vinaya has led to mention of

The Commentaries.—The Burmese tradition as to the great commentators follows the Sinhalese, which places Buddhaghosa, Dhammapala, Buddhadatta, Nānagambhīra, Kassapa, and Ānanda in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D.³ The earliest *aṭṭhakathās* (commentaries, and *ṭīkās* (sub-commentaries or glosses) on the three *piṭakas* are associated with these names. Equally famous and authoritative is the compendium of doctrine known as the *Visuddhimagga* ('Path of Purity') by Buddhaghosa. As for the familiar story of Buddhaghosa's career,⁴ the Burmese adhere closely to the Sinhalese version, but though the scene of this almost incredibly prolific

¹ The boundaries in question mark the enclosure within which ceremonies such as ordination can be properly performed. The observance of these bounds is very strict, and a ceremony carried out in a place unfitted for consecration is not valid.

² 'As in law-books all the world over,' says Professor Rhys Davids, who has, in his wide experience, plumbed the depths of Vinaya and law both.

³ See, pp. 33, 34, *Pitakatthamanā*, pp. 21 ff.

⁴ See the article on Buddhaghosa by T. Foulkes, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, pp. 105-22.

writer's great commenting feats is always considered to be Ceylon, he has been gravely claimed by the Talangs as a native of Thatōn¹

Dhammapāla² wrote at Kañcupura (Conjeveram) in the Dekkhan, the region with which, according to their ancient records, the Talangs kept up active communication. Knowledge of Buddhist texts in Lower Burma was derived, Forchhammer thinks, from Dhammapāla's country³. We do not know of any works written in the Talang country itself during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, a period of great literary activity in Ceylon and South India.

Most of the well-known *śīlās* were written in Ceylon,⁴ and works such as the commentary on the Nettipekarāṇa and another entitled Saccasaṅkhepa ('Compendium of the Truth')⁵. Better known, perhaps, than any other in Burma is the twelfth century compendium of the Abhidhamma known as the Abhidhammatthasangaha, also of Sinhalese origin. These old exegetical books, which we shall find again and again in our progress through Burmese literature, must be known at least by name before we can discuss the work of the scholars of Burma.

Some obscurity hangs over the beginnings of Buddhist culture in Further India. According to a well-established tradition Indian Buddhism moved from the south coast—that is, from the region called in the ancient chronicles Suvannabhūmi—northwards, while some archaeological and linguistic evidence allows us to suppose that it also found its way through the mountain passes of the North.⁶ But it was certainly not

¹ Modern Burmese scholars have abandoned this belief. See Foulkes 'Buddhaghosa' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, pp. 113, 114).

² Gandhavamsa, pp. 60, 69, Forchhammer, *List*, pp. vi, vii.

³ Forchhammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 27.

⁴ Sās, p. 33. Vide Mouyeff, *Recherches*, pp. 273, 274. The *śīlās* are sometimes mentioned in Burmese lists under collective titles. The most important *śīlās* of Dhammapāla are known as the Linatthappakāsaṇi (see GV, pp. 60, 69). Pitakathamaṇ, pp. 38, 33.

⁵ Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 25. See also SVD. (Sāsanavamsadīpa), verses 1194 and 1220.

⁶ See Taw Sein Ko, 'The Origin of the Burmese Race' (*Buddhism*, vol. 1, No. 3, p. 445), also 'Preliminary Study of the POḥ Uḥ Daung Inscription' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 7), Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 3, 4, 14, R. C.

in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy that the Pali literature of Burma had its origin. This gift the Burmese owe to their more advanced neighbours, the Talaings of Rāmañādesa, now called Lower Burma.

The origin and history of the Môn or Talaing people, who were to be unwilingly as it happened the messengers of the purer Buddhism, need not be discussed here. The point from which we start is their acceptance of Buddhist teaching from India and the rise of a body of learned monks in Rāmañā who preserved the ancient Doctrine and Discipline and conveyed them to Upper Burma, where both had long been forgotten. We say forgotten, for Burmese authors will not admit that they were new-comers.¹ But the tradition that no less than three out of the nine missions sent out by Aśoka went to Upper Burma in the third century B.C.² looks like a piece of the

Temple, 'Notes on Antiquities in Rāmañādesa' *Ind. Ant.* vol. xii, pt. 37.³ A list of some of the sources of the *Ind. Ant.* is on pp. 232, 233, 236.

For views of recent authorities on this subject see *Reports on the Census of Burma*, 1891, p. 100 and 90. The Talaing, Mon and other peoples are rich in material for study, material which we are now and are likely to unearth as time goes on, for this ancient language is fast disappearing from Burma, and students of it are unfortunately very few.

¹ It is certain that the accounts of Burmese chieftains do not support Forchhammer's belief 'but there was no Burmese civilization to speak of in the Talaings conquered the upper country'. Neither Taw Sein Ko (*Ind. Ant.* xi, p. 234) nor Platte (*History of Burma*, p. 3) take this view. I have not yet discovered Forchhammer's reason for concluding that there was no great difference between the two countries, though the southern provinces were more easily accessible from India than Upper Burma.

² The well-known names of the regions visited by the missions are carefully disused by the Burmese, to cover regions in Further India. See *Manusmṛiti*, Introduction, pp. 3 ff., and note by Dr. Burgum, 'Fabricated Geography' *Ind. Ant.* 1901 vol. xix p. 38. An example of the sources from which we may hope to add much to our knowledge see the *Minggan* (or *Mad* Plate), by Tan Ywee, an account of two gold plates found in a brick in the year 1867 at the village of Minggan in the Prine district. The inscriptions on the plates consist of quotations from the Buddhist scriptures. They are in the Pali language and are written in characters which it is believed were in vogue in the first century A.D., when the kingdom of Prine (Sinhalese) was in the zenith of its power. The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions of Pagan in the fourth and fifth centuries, and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets' (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v, p. 101). The two plates are now in the British Museum.

national pride that is so inventive in these matters, and can only be quoted as an 'uncorroborated legend' ¹

We must seek a safe starting-point for our history of the Pali literature, and we find it in the eleventh century A.D. At that time the Pali scriptures were introduced to Upper Burma by Talaing teachers. The existence of a strong Buddhist community in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa) long before this date is very probable. It has been supposed that Indian colonies were already flourishing in Talaing territory, from Chittagong to the Straits (Forchhammer), at the time of the Aśokan mission. If so, the early missionaries brought the teaching of Gotama to a country where Indian religion and customs had already made a home, and whether they were opposed or not² they could be understood, and in time the doctrine of the Buddha prevailed.

There is no elaborated ancient Pali chronicle for Further India to be compared with the Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa of Ceylon,³ but there are allusions in these works which throw some light on the religious history of Pegu and Arakan. The Burmese chronicles are of more recent date, and help must be sought from monuments which do not always yield up their secret readily. But we may safely say that events in India and Ceylon greatly affected religion in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa). Refugees from the countries where Buddhism was persecuted or declining, as in India after the eighth century, without doubt strengthened the Buddhist element in

¹ Forbes, *Legendary History of Burma and Arakan*, p. 10. The researches of Forchhammer and other scholars who have followed him in this subject since 1890 have been summed up lately, 1908, by Mr C. O. Lewis in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. He says "A close study of the inscriptions and native histories has revealed the fact that as the religion, letters, and civilisation of Upper Burma were influenced by Magadha, Nepal, Tibet, and China, so those of the Talangs of Lower Burma were affected by Ceylon, South India, and Cambodia" (Article 'Burma', in vol. 4, p. 28, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Calcutta, 1908).

² According to the Talaing legend the Buddhist missionaries on their arrival met with great opposition from the local teachers—probably Brahmins—being denounced and reviled by them as heretics.—Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 10.

³ See on these chronicles Dr Wilhelm Geiger, *The Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa* (translated by Ethel Coomaraswamy), Colombo, 1908.

the Talaing country¹ Captain Forbes, who follows the Talaing record, says of the early days following the Indian mission: 'Gradually the new doctrines gained ground, pagodas arose, and the faith of Buddha or Gaudama established itself in Thatone, to flourish amid all vicissitudes for over two thousand years to the present day, on the spot where the great Thagya pagoda lifts its worn and ancient head, probably the oldest architectural monument of Buddhism in Burma.'²

When a religious reform in the eleventh century drew Ceylon and Burma together Anorata,³ king of Burma, fresh from vigorous measures against heresy in his own country, agreed with Vijayabāhu, king of Ceylon, on the Pali texts which were to be accepted as representing the true teaching of the Buddha. Afterwards, in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, a council was held (A.D. 1165) in Ceylon to revise this agreement and settle all such questions.⁴

We shall see that from the eleventh century onwards new recruits press into Pali scholarship. And whence? Not only from the Talaing country but from Upper Burma, an advance which was directly due to the action of the strenuous Burmese king. The reforms with which Anorata's name is associated were greatly needed,⁵ and had important results.

¹ Sir R. C. Temple pointed out some years ago that 'Suvarnadīpa' was the 'head-quarters of Buddhism in the East' in the tenth century. He gives a reference to a passage in Harat (Chandra Das *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, where we find mention of an Indian 'Northern' Buddhist's visit to Chandrakṛti, head of the Order at Suvarnadīpa. The visitor was Dipankara Śrīdhara Atiśa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxv, p. 356).

² Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 10.

³ The Anawraṭa of Forbes History. 'The date of the commencement of his reign is uncertain, as the chronicles differ from each other. *Legendary History* p. 221. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 22. Cf. Duroiselle, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, tome v, p. 150.

⁴ Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 138 (*Grundriss der Indischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii, pt. vii). The Śāsana-vamāsa (p. C) says: 'Jinacake ekasattādhike paṭṭarāte sabhase ca sampatte ka. yuge ekasattādh. ke tsaṇe sampatte Anuruddharāja rajjasa pāpasa. Anuruddha became king in the year 1571 of reigona (lit. of the Buddha cycle) and the year 371 of the kalyuga (the common era, beginning 638 A.D.).

⁵ See *Sās.*, p. 66. The Śāsana-vamāsa agrees in certain details with the Burmese chronicles from which Forbes drew his account, which is as follows: 'It would be difficult to decide what the system of reckoning that at this time prevailed in Burma can be termed. It was certainly not

A religion¹ which a Buddhist from the South would have scorned to call religion completely possessed the region over which Anorata ruled, and the Burmese king himself, with mistaken piety, supported it in default of a better. A community numbering many thousands of monks with their disciples flourished on the popularity of their debased doctrine, teaching the idle that the worst crimes need bring no retribution if the guilty man recited or engaged some one to recite) an appropriate *perittha*.² The tyranny of these monks went as far as to exact from parents the handing over of either sons or daughters 'to the teacher' before giving them in marriage.³

But in course of time a Buddhist from the South was in Anorata's counsels, and a sweeping change was brought about. Arahanta, a Taming monk from Thabon the Sudhammapura of the Pali chronicles became the king's preceptor and adviser, and used all his great influence to break up the supposed order of *Samanas* (ascetics). In spite of the credulity of the people he succeeded, for he had convinced the king. But even when

Brahmanism. The native records state that King Sawahan built five brahmanic temples. In each temple was, and a Brahman was, neither he nor his wife. To the king, morning and evening, food and gifts were offered, and so they were worshipped and propitiated. The pupils or teachers of this religion are called the three great Araks and four dāyaks. Their doctrines are represented as a veritable outpouring of all moral law. They taught it is said, whenever the student murders he is freed from his sins by reciting a prayer of invocation, whenever shall his parents, by repeating a prayer he is freed from the great sins due to the five great sins. These teachers too were admitted to the position of great ministers. *Palau, Legendary History*, p. 23 and also *Palau History*, p. 100.

¹ A form of *Naga* worship, according to Burmese histories, had already prevailed for some five centuries in Pagan before Anorata's accession, while Buddhism itself had been corrupted by the Tantric system, which is a mixture of magic, witchcraft and sorcery, and the Tantric Buddhist appears to have passed through Persia, Arabia and Malabar and to have reached the Indian continent by way of Pagan. *Ten Thousand Years of Buddhism in Burma*, *Buddhism*, vol. 1, p. 109. The statements of the Burmese histories are a help, but the chronology needs careful sifting.

² See above.

³ The *Samantapasaṅka* gives no further explanation. The mention of *mesas* as well as of *gates* prevents our assuming the custom mentioned to be that prevailing in Cambodia, where marriageable virgins were handed up to a boner before the marriage ceremony (see article by P. P. P. in *Mémoires sur les coutumes de Cambodge*, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, tome II, p. 153).

the communities were dissolved and the 'false Samanas'¹ reduced to the state of 'ownerless dogs', confusion, heresy, and ignorance still reigned in the land, and Arahanta pointed earnestly to the only means of putting religion beyond all danger.

The true doctrine must be obtained and guarded (he preached) with the sacred texts. They were not to be had in Burma, but existed in abundance at Sudhammapura, besides relics of the Buddha. Anorata was full of faith, and he was not a man to believe passively. He sent an embassy to the Talung king reigning at Thuton, Manohari, to ask, as a believer having the right to ask, for relics and copies of the scriptures.

But Manohari was, or chose to appear, too strict a Buddhist to allow holy relics and texts to go to a country with the indifferent religious reputation that disgraced Burma. He refused Anorata's request, and refused in wounding and contemptuous terms.² The King of Burma, outraged and furious, descended the Irrawaddy with his armies and laid siege to Sudhammapura. In the year 1058 the Talung capital fell before the besiegers. Spoils and prisoners, among whom were Manohari and a number of learned monks, were carried off to Pagan. Anorata's end was gained and the Pali *Tiṇṇaka* came to Burma.

¹ Pālī, *Samanakuttakā*.

² Sās., Introduction, p. 18.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF PAI SCHOLARSHIP IN UPPER BURMA—THE SADDANĪTI, CHAPATA AND THE SIHALASANGHA—LEARNING AT PAGAN (ARIMADDANA) IN THE TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Though the Burmese began their literary history by borrowing from their conquered neighbours, the Taluings—and not before the eleventh century—the growth of Pali scholarship among them was so rapid that the epoch following close on this tardy beginning is considered one of the best that Burma has seen. The works then produced supplied the material or afforded the favourite models for much of the Pali-Burmese literature of later times.

The causes of this speedy maturity are easy to trace. Rāmañña was conquered. Relics, books, and teachers had been forcibly carried to Burma. Instead of suffering by transposition the religion of the Buddha seems to have flourished more vigorously in its new centre. The Burmese king had conveyed the whole state and dignity of the conquered Sudhammapura to his own capital, and even his captive Manohari helped to add to the religious splendour of Pagan.¹ About Manohari a curious little legend is related,² perhaps to show that his religion needed purifying, notwithstanding that he had scorned the Burmese as heretics. It is said that he possessed a magical power by which fire issued from his mouth when he spoke. Thus, whenever he came to pay a vassal's duty to Anorata, the flames burst forth, to the great terror of his liege, who anxiously applied a religious cure to the dreadful prodigy. Food was taken from a holy shrine, and after due homage it was given to Manohari to

¹ Called Arimaddana in the Pali chronicles. A temple exists at Myin Pagan, 2 miles south of Pagan, built by Manohari (or Manuha, in 1039 A.D. See Taw Sein Ko in *Archæological Survey of Burma* (quoted in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française*, tome II, p. 877).

² *Sas.*, p. 64.

eat. The flames appeared no more. Manohari, filled with awe at the loss of his magical attribute, sold one of his royal gems and devoted the price to two great images of the Buddha, which are said to exist to the present day.¹

Anorata, mindful of Arahanta's counsels, was, above all, eager to enrich his city with the sacred texts. Those brought from Thatôn had been stored in a splendid pavilion² and placed at the disposal of the Sangha for study. Not content with his large spoils, the king sent to Ceylon for more copies of the *Tipiṭaka*, which Arahanta afterwards examined and compared with the Thaton collection.³ So the ground was prepared for the harvest that soon followed. Anorata did not live to see the firstfruits of his husbandry,⁴ but, if we can accept the date of the *Piṭakatthamam*, the first essay of a Burmese author in Pali scholarship was made in the year 1064 A.D., during the reign of Kyansitthā, a son of Anorata.⁵

Kyansitthā was the founder of the celebrated Nanda⁶ or Ānanda temple and viṇāra (monastery) at Pagan. The legend goes that the temple was designed from a vision of the Nandamula cave in the Himalaya granted to the king by eight saints of that region, who journeyed through the air daily to receive Kyansitthā's hospitality. These miraculous visits are of smaller interest to us than another, less sensational tradition of the holy place. At this monastery Dhammasenāpati

¹ Sās., p. 84.

² Pal., *Ratanamaye pāsāde* (Sās., p. 63). The libraries of the ancient monasteries were mostly walled up apart.

³ Sās., p. 84. The Sinhalese chronicles say that a common canon for Burma and Ceylon was arranged by Anorata and Vijayabāhu the Great (see appendix to Mr. Nevill's manuscript catalogue of his collection, made in Ceylon and now at the British Museum).

⁴ M. Duroselle mentions inscriptions which establish 1059 A.D. as the year of Anorata's death ('Notes sur la Géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie' *Bulletin de l'École Française*, tome v, p. 150).

⁵ Some religious foundations of Kyansitthā are dated 1059 A.D. (*Bulletin*, tome ii, p. 678). His Pali name is Chattaguhinda (Sās., p. 76, Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 23, Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 39, 281, *Piṭakatthamam*, p. 68). M. Duroselle expresses some doubt as to the exactness of Phayre's dates for the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

⁶ Described in Sir Henry Yule's *Mission to the Court of Ava*, p. 38, and Craufurd's *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava*, p. 114.

wrote the *Kārikā*, a grammatical work, in Pali.¹ This modest little metrical treatise has lived bravely through some eight centuries and was last republished a few years ago.

Dhammasenapati composed two other works, the *Etimāsam-dipani* (or *Etimāsam dipika*) and the *Manohara*.² Beyond the bare mention of these last two titles, and the statement that the author wrote the *Kārikā* at the request of the monk *Ñāgambhira*, the *Gandhavaṃsa* leaves us without information. *Ñāgambhira* of Pagan is perhaps the *thera* mentioned in the *Pitakatthamain* as the author of the religious work *Tathāgatappatti*.

During the reigns of Anorata's immediate successors learning took firm root at Pagan, and in the year 1164 the monk Aggavaṃsa completed the *Saddaniti*, a grammar of the *Tiṭṭaka*, described as 'the most comprehensive in existence'.³ It established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age and the fame of the author to the present day, for the *Saddaniti* is still republished in Burma as a classic. It consists of aphorisms on Pali grammar divided into twenty-five *paricchēdas* or sections. It is very interesting to see that in the second part of the work, the *Dhātumālā* ('Garland of Roots'), the grammarian gives the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms.

Aggavaṃsa was tutor to King Narapatiathu (A.D. 1167-1202), a powerful and peaceable monarch, whose reign was the most prosperous epoch in the history of the kingdom of Pagan.⁴ According to the *Gandhavaṃsa*, Aggavaṃsa was of Jambudīpa

¹ GV., pp. 83, 73. Dhammasenapati is called an *ācariya* (teacher) in *Gandhavaṃsa*, but in Forchhammer's *List* the author of *Kārikā* and *Kārikātika* is put down as a Burmese nobleman of Pagan bearing the honorary title of Dhammasenapati. It is likely that he was known as a man of rank and importance before he entered the Order, and perhaps he threw himself into serious studies while still a layman. We shall find such cases later.

The *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 64, 73) is my only authority here. The curious title *Etimāsamdipani* appears to have no meaning whatever and may be wrongly copied perhaps for *Etimāsamdipani*.

² O. Duroiselle, *Bulletin*, tome v, p. 147 note. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* mentions another learned monk of Pagan, sometimes called Aggapaṇḍita and sometimes Aggavaṃsa, with whom our author might be confused. Aggapaṇḍita, who lived in the thirteenth century, wrote the *Lokupattapakāsaṇi* (see *Pitakatthamain*, pp. 80, 86).

³ Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 24.

(strictly meaning India, but with Burmese writers often Burma)¹ Forchhammer mentions him among the famous residents in the retired monastery on the northern plateau above Pagan, 'the cradle of Pali-Burmese literature.'²

The Saddanāṭi was the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. A few years after its completion the thera ('elder') Uttarājīva left Pagan and crossed the sea to visit the celebrated Mahāvihāra,³ taking with him a copy of the Saddanāṭi, which was received with enthusiastic admiration, and declared superior to any work of the kind written by Sinhalese scholars.

Uttarājīva was accompanied by his pupil, the novice Chapata,⁴ whose name was destined to eclipse, for a time at least, even that of Aggavamsa. He received ordination from the Sangha in Ceylon, and lived in its midst for some years, ardently studying the doctrine as handed down in the Mahāvihāra, and, we may suppose, mastering many ancient texts of high authority which had not yet found their way to Burma. His talents and forcible personality were just the other elements needed to make his stay in the sacred island important for the literary history of Burma.

The works usually ascribed to Saddhammajotipāla, otherwise Chapata, represent the second stage in the monastic scholarship of his time and country.

The Suttaniddesa or Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa is a grammatical treatise explaining the 'sūtras' (aphorisms) of the Indian grammarian Kaccayana.⁵ Forchhammer⁶ mentions the Suttaniddesa as a work, originally ascribed to Kaccayana, introduced

¹ GV, pp. 67, 72, see also SVD, verse 1233, Faustöhl, *Cat. Ind. MSS.*, p. 49.

² Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2.

³ This famous and ancient monastery is said to have been founded by the King of Ceylon, Devānampriya-Tissa, for the thera Maṇḍa, Aśoka's son.

⁴ Or Chapāda, so called after the village where he was born, near Bassein (Pali, Kusamanagara). In religion his name was Saddhammajotipāla (Sāa, p. 74).

⁵ For Kaccāyana see the edition of E. Senart, Paris, 1871, for MSS. consult Faustöhl's *Catalogue of Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library*, pp. 45-8, cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xx, xxi. For editions produced in Burma and Ceylon see *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali Printed Books*, 1892-1896.

⁶ *Jardine's Price Essay*, p. 94.

by Chapata into Burma. The Sasanavamsa, Gandhavamsa, and Sāsānavamsadīpa give Chapata as the author, and say that he wrote at Arimaddana (Pagan).¹ The Gandhavamsa adds that he composed the Suttaniddesa 'at the request of' his pupil Dhammacūri.

His other well-known work is the Sankhepavaṇṇanā. According to Forchhammer's sources² Chapata introduced the Sankhepavaṇṇanā from Ceylon and transcribed it from the Sinhalese into the Burmese-Talaing alphabet, but the Sasanavamsa, Sāsānavamsadīpa, and Gandhavamsa state that he composed it. According to the Gandhavamsa it was the only one of his eight works that was written in Ceylon. As to the basis of this work, it appears, from the title given in the MSS, to be a commentary on the Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha, then recently written by a Sinhalese therā, Anuruddha. In arrangement the Sankhepavaṇṇanā follows the Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha, being divided into nine *paricchedas*.³

The Simalankāra or Simulankaratika, a treatise on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies, is a commentary on a work by the Sinhalese therā Vācissara.⁴ Another work on monastic topics is the Vinayasamutthānadīpanī, written, as the favourite formula has it, 'at the request of' Chapata's preceptor.⁵ The Vinayagūḥatthadīpanī, again, is an explanation of difficult passages in the Vinayapitaka.⁶ The Nāmacaradīpanī ('on ethics,' according to Forchhammer, but classed by the Pitakathammāin as 'Abhidhamma' may be of Chapata's composition. It was, at all events, introduced by him into Burma.⁷

The Gandhisāra or Ganthisāra⁸ is evidently an anthology or manual for study condensed from important texts. The

¹ Sān, p. 74, GV, pp. 64, 74, Sāsānavamsadīpa, verses 1247-8, cf. Pitakathammāin, p. 88.

² *Jardine Priss Essay*, p. 35.

³ Odenberg, *Pali MSS in the India Office*, JPTS. 1882, p. 85, Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, JPTS, 1886, p. 39. The Pitakathammāin mentions Sankhepavaṇṇanā under the heading Abhidhamma PTH p. 60.

⁴ Pitakathammāin, pp. 43, 49, GV, p. 62, SVD, verses 12, 13.

⁵ GV, pp. 64, 74.

⁶ P.T.H., p. 44.

⁷ Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 35, P.T.H., p. 45.

⁸ Gandhisāra in the Gandhavamsa, p. 74.

remaining works ascribed to Chapata, the *Mātikatthadīpani* and *Paṭṭhanagaṇānaya*, treat of Abhidhamma subjects.¹

It would be rash to say, without careful comparison of the literature of the two countries, that, even at that early period, the Burmese Sangha showed a keener interest in the Abhidhamma than the Sinhalese, but this was certainly the case later.² The school or sect founded by Chapata and known as the *Sihālasaṅgha* (or Ceylon sangha) of Burma was probably absorbed in monastic questions. For Chapata had returned to Pagan, a missionary of Sinhalese orthodoxy. Deeply imbued with the belief that the Mahāvihāra alone had kept the legitimate 'line of descent'³ unbroken from teacher to teacher, and that valid ordination could only be received in Ceylon, he wished to confer the *upāsampadā* on the Pagan brethren who, never having visited the sacred precincts, were still outside the pale. To fulfil all conditions required by the Vinaya he brought with him four companions⁴ qualified like himself. The little group was to be the nucleus of the new Order in Burma, the rightful heirs of the one tradition.

But this claim was stoutly opposed in some of the monasteries of Pagan. The traditions of the South country and of Anurāṭa's great Talaing teacher were still flourishing. Arahanta, it was claimed, had been in the 'direct line' from the ancient missionaries Soṇa and Uttara, his disciples had been qualified to receive and hand on the *upāsampadā*, and the Mahāvihāra itself could confer no better title. The older community therefore declined to be drawn into Chapata's fold, and he, having the then reigning king on his side, was powerful enough to make them appear the seceders, while his followers refused all

¹ The *Pitakātthaman* (p. 37) mentions another the *Visuddhimaggagāthi*, on difficult passages in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*.

² An observation to this effect is made by Mr. Nevill, whose information was supplied, for the most part, by Sinhalese monks well versed in the Pali literature of their country.

³ This line is established by the learning of 'right doctrine' from the teacher and director chosen by the novice, the teacher must be duly ordained and himself a pupil of another such, and so on in direct ascent to one of the disciples of the Buddha.

⁴ Rahula, Āsanda, Sival, and Tāmaṇḍa (*Sās*, p. 65). Five was the smallest number of which a Chapter, for acts of the Sangha, could consist, according to the Vinaya.

association with them in ceremonies.¹ But King Narapati-sithu was a Buddhist of the old magnificent school, and though he believed devoutly in Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, he neither persecuted nor neglected the communities that denied it. The ruins of old Pagan still witness to his bounty towards the different Sanghas,² of which the Arahanta sect (called, to distinguish it from Chapaṭa's Ceylon school, the Mramma or Burma Sangha) was the most important. Names of grammarians follow close on one another at this period. Schisms had indeed arisen, but the time had not yet come for works of *polemik*, and the good monks of Pagan were busy enriching the new store of learning in the country. In the work of Saddhammasiri, the author of the grammatical treatise *Saddatthabhedacintā*,³ we catch a glimpse of a culture that recalls Aggavamsa. Saddhammasiri's grammar is based partly on Kaccuyana's Pali aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. The Sāsana-vamsa tells us that Saddhammasiri also translated the Brihaja (?) into the Burmese language.⁴ He was probably among the first to use Burmese as a literary instrument.⁵ If the work mentioned is the astrological Brihajjataka⁶ it could not have put a great strain on the resources of the Burmese idiom (even before the immense body of Pali words added later had come to the aid of the vernacular), so the feat was not a surprising one. But the there's knowledge of Sanskrit is an interesting point. It is

¹ See the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (edited by Taw Sen Ko), *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxi and xxii.

² 'Fraternalities from Ceylon, from the conquered Hamaivati, from Siam, Cambaja, and probably Nepal and China, sojourned in Pagan.'—Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2.

³ GV, pp. 62, 72, Faehsöl, *Cat. Mund. MSS.*, pp. 47, 48, Forchhammer, *List*, p. xix.

⁴ Sāa, p. 75 'So yeva them Brihajam nāma Vedasattham pi maramma-bhāṣiṇa parivattam.' Cf. *Pitakattthaman*, p. 68.

⁵ M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions in Burmese of the tenth and eleventh centuries, containing words of Sanskrit derivation, and he expresses the belief that Sanskrit was known in Burma before Pali, which, so shortly after its importation from Thātōn (at the epoch of the inscriptions), n'était connu que de l'élite des moines' (*Bulletin*, tome v, p. 184).

⁶ Of Varāha-Mihira, see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 277, 278.

curious, too, to find him busied with one of the Brahmanic works known as 'Vedas' in Burma.¹

Another grammatical work of some importance is the commentary generally known as *Nyāsa*, but sometimes as *Mukhamattadipani*, on the *Kaccāyanayoga*. The author was *Vimalabuddhi*,² who is claimed by the *Sāsanavamsa* as a thera of Pagan, but is said by some authorities to be of Ceylon. A *ṭīkā* or gloss on the *Nyāsa* was written by *Vimalabuddhi*,³ to whom an *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭṭika* is also ascribed.⁴

The *Nyāsa* was glossed by another commentator in the reign of *Narapati*sthū. The scholast this time was a man of high rank who addressed himself to the task for love of one of the king's daughters. At least, the story, as related by the *Sāsanavamsa*, is that *Narapati*, knowing this nobleman to be violently in love with one of the princesses, promised him her hand on condition that he should produce a work of profound learning.⁵ He undertook a scholium on the *Nyāsa*. The *Sāsanavamsa* does not make it clear whether he was an official at the Court first and entered the Order on purpose to write his book, or whether he was already of the Order when he fell in love. We are only told that when he 'returned to the lay life' the king conferred on him the title *rājyuggāhāmaraca*. The Burmese title by which his work is sometimes mentioned is *Thanbyin*.⁶

A treatise entitled *Lokupatti* by *Aggapandita*⁷ was written at Pagan. The author was a native of Burma. He was

¹ For this term applied to the miscellaneous learning of Brahman immigrants to Burma, see below, Chapter IV.

² Called *Mahā-Vimalabuddhi* to distinguish him from a later writer (*Sās.*, p. 76, PTH, p. 63, Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxii., Faubell, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 47, 48).

³ *GV*, pp. 63, 73.

⁴ See *SVD*, verse 1223.

⁵ It seems that the king's request was not out of the way, for the nobleman was a learned grammarian according to the *SVD*, verse 1240, where it is said that the *Nyāsappadipatīkā* was written *akena amaccena saddatthanayaññuon*. Cf. PTH, p. 64. There is a *ṭīkā* called *Nyāsappadīpa* (incomplete at the India Office. The author's name is missing. See Faubell, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 48).

⁶ *Sās.*, p. 76. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxii. *Thanbyin (rājyuggāhāmaraca)* was a title given to revenue officers, nearly corresponding to the *thaungyi* of modern times. See *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, p. 128, note.

⁷ *GV*, pp. 64, 67; *Sās.*, p. 74, PTH, p. 60.

apparently one of the few Palists of his time who was not chiefly devoted to the study of the language.

The Gandhavamsa mentions a grammar, *Langatthavivarana* by Subhūtacandana, who was followed by Nānasūgara with *Langatthavivaranappakasaka* and Uttama with *Langatthavivaraṇatīkā*. These three doctors were all of Pagan.¹ A *Langatthavivaraṇavinicchaya*,² by an author whose name is not mentioned, is apparently based on Subhūtacandana's treatise, or explains difficult passages in it. Uttama, the author of the *Langatthavivaraṇatīkā*,³ also wrote a scholium on *Bālāvatīra*, the well-known grammar by Vācissara of Ceylon.⁴

Another of the Pagan grammarians, whose work has been studied for centuries and republished in recent times, was Dhammadassi, a novice (*sāmaṇera*) in the Order⁵ when he composed his well-known treatise *Vācavācaka* or *Vaccavācaka*. A commentary on it was written by *Saddhammanandi*.⁶

From the *Saddatthabhedacintā* of *Saddhammasiri* sprang a number of commentaries of which the best known is the *Mahātīkā*⁷ by the thera Abhaya of Pagan. Abhaya's name reappears as the author of the *Sambandhacintatīkā*,⁸ a commentary on the *Sambandhacintā* of Saṅgharakkhita.⁹

Forchhammer places both *Saddhammasiri* and Abhaya in the

¹ GV., pp. 63, 67, 72, 73. The PTH p. 72, ascribes *Langatthavivarana* and the *tīkā* to *Saddhammakitti* of bagaing.

² GV., pp. 66, 75.

³ GV., pp. 63, 67. Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2, Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii, PTH., p. 70.

⁴ *Dhammakitti* in Forchhammer's *List*, Vācissara in India Office MS., etc. See *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 46.

⁵ Sās., p. 75.

⁶ See Fauböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50, for commentary and *tīkā* on *Vaccavācaka*. They are entitled *Vaccavācakavannana*, *Vaccavācakatīkā*, and *Vaccavācakaḍḍipani*. *Saddhammanandi* is the only author mentioned. In Forchhammer's *List* (p. xi): these works appear without names of authors of PTH., p. 71, according to which the *Vaccavācaka* was written at Pagan by a thera, name unknown, and the *tīkā* by *Saddhammanandi*.

⁷ GV., pp. 63, 73, Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2. *List*, p. xix. The commentary in the Mandalay Collection at the India Office is called *Saddatthabhedacintāḍḍipani* v. Fauböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

⁸ Fauböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50, Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxi, PTH., pp. 69, 71.

⁹ The *Sambandhacintā*, on syntactical relation, is probably of the twelfth century. The author was a scholar of Ceylon, better known by his famous *Subodhāmpkāra*, on the art of poetry, and the *Vuttodaya*, on prosody.

fourteenth century¹ Unfortunately the *Sāsanavamsa* and *Gandhavamsa*, usually careful to give us the birthplace or residence of our authors, rarely give us their exact date. Without a close comparison of the texts one with another, or a minute study of the chronicles of monasteries, we must be content with conjectures as to the order in which the scholars of Pagan should appear in literary history. But we may perhaps venture to place most of those just mentioned in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Before passing on to the later period of Pali literature at Pagan it will be well to look for a moment at the state of the Burmese Sangha, or rather Sanghas.

Narapati's impartial benevolence had secured a peaceful life and means of study for all those who sought them, but it could not prevent discord between the communities, and when Chapata died, his school—the Sihajasangha—split into four factions, each following one of the four *theras* who had come with Chapata from Ceylon.

The dissensions (for they can hardly be called schisms in the usual sense of the word) that arose within the Sihajasangha, once stronger and more united than the other sects in Pagan, were not, it seems, caused by questions of dogma. At all events, the *Sāsanavamsa* tells us only of the personal reasons for which Rāhula separated himself first from his colleagues and they in their turn parted company.

Rāhula's defection was the gravest matter. The story is that he fell desperately in love with an actress at one of the festivals given by King Narapati. His brother-*theras* entreated and reasoned with him in vain. Finally, they prayed him to leave the country, and spare his community the scandal of his 'return to the lower life'. He then took ship and went to 'Malayadīpa',² and in that country became preceptor to

¹ Forchhammer, *Jardins Prus Essay*, p. 26.

² *Sān.* p. 66. The reading chosen by Miueyoff in his transcript of the text, and after some hesitation, by the present writer in editing the *Sāsanavamsa*, was 'Mallarudīpa'. The MS. corrects to Malayadīpa. The episode is interesting. The reading *Maaya* is confirmed by the Kalyāṇ inscriptions. See Taw Sein Ko, 'Remarks on the Kalyāṇ Inscriptions,' *Ind. Ant.*, xxiv, p. 261. The ancient Malayadēśa (an Indian colony) was in the Malay Peninsula (v. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, p. 52).

the king, who wished to be instructed in the Vinaya. The end of Rūhula's story is curious. Under him the king studied the Khuddasikkhā¹ and the *ṭīka* on the same; afterwards, with the largesse that his grateful pupil bestowed on him, the *thera* abandoned the Order and lived as a layman.

This little history is no doubt told for edification more than for its human interest, like the story of Ānanda, whose transgression, less dramatic than Rūhula's, was also against monastic discipline. Narapati had presented the three *theras*, Sīvali, Tūmalinda, and Ānanda, each with an elephant. Ānanda, wishing to give his to his relations in Kañcīpura, was preparing to ship it from Bassein (Kasimanagara), when the others remonstrated with him, pointing out that they, in a spirit more becoming to followers of the Buddha, had turned their elephants loose in the forest. Ānanda argued that kindness to kinsfolk was also preached by the Master. Neither side would be persuaded, and Ānanda was cut off from the community.

Sīvali and Tūmalinda afterwards disagreed on another question of conduct. Tūmalinda had recommended his disciples to the pious laity for gifts and other marks of consideration, an action of which the Buddha had strongly disapproved.² After some useless admonishing, Sīvali refused to have any further intercourse with Tamalinda, and formed a sect of his own. This very simple account of the origin of the four factions in the *Sihassangha* is not quite satisfying, but as an example of monastic traditions in Burma it has a certain interest. Besides, even such fragments of the personal history of *theras* sometimes give us a glimpse into the course of studies and scholarship in their day.

In the meantime, as our list of authors shows, literary work went on at Pagan. After Narapati, the next keen patron of

¹ A compendium of the Vinaya written in Ceylon, edited by Professor E. Müller (JPTS. 1883). *Ṭīkās* on this text were composed by Revata and Saṅgharakkhita, both of Ceylon: *vide* P.T.H., p. 48).

² Sās. p. 67. It is here called by a technical name, *saccīvāṇīyatta*. For pronouncements in the Vinaya on this subject, see Vinaya, v, p. 123 (Oldenberg's edition), and compare ii, pp. 227, 256, etc.

learning was Kyocvū or Kya-awa.¹ The works produced under his auspices were chiefly grammatical, but the Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha was also one of the principal subjects of study.² We should expect to hear that the students of Pali grammar were chiefly monks, eager not only to understand the ancient texts thoroughly, but to master the classic language, in order to compose in it themselves. But grammatical knowledge was by no means limited to the monasteries. We have already heard of the learning of Narapati's minister. In the time of Kyocvū, too, there were grammarians at the king's court.³ Indeed, Kyocvū is said to have insisted on general diligence around him, while he himself set the example by writing the Saddabindu and Paramatthabindu, both grammatical works.⁴ A little work on Pali cases, entitled V.bhattyattha, is ascribed to his daughter.⁵

The Makkhamattasāra,⁶ another grammatical work of this epoch, was written by Sāgura, called Guṇasāgara in the Gandhavamsa,⁷ which states that Sāgura wrote a *ṭīkā* on his own work, at the request of the Saṅgharāja (Head of the whole Order), who was King Kyocvū's preceptor.

¹ Kyaawa succeeded Jayyavakkha A.D. 1227 (Phayre), or A.D. 1234 (Barnett). Pagan is described in a florid thirteenth century poem, the *Manavolu Sandesaya*, written in Ceylon, ed. L. D. Barnett, *JRAS.*, April, 1905, p. 285.

² For an example of studies, see the pathetic little story of the monk Duāpāruokkha, who pursued knowledge so fervently in his old age (beginning with Kaccayana and the *Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha*) that in time he astonished his chief theras by his learning, and was chosen by the King to be his *ācariya* (*Sās.*, p. 77).

³ Pali grammar was a popular study at that time even among women and young girls. A quaint and interesting passage in the *Sāsana-vamsa*, reproduced by Mayeff in the *Recherches Sās.*, p. 78, *Recherches*, p. 691, describes how busy mothers of families in Arimaddana (Pagan) snatched time to learn.

⁴ Saddabindu is ascribed to Kyaawa, and dated 1234 in the *Pitakatthamain*, pp. 45, 70. See also *GV*, pp. 64, 13, *Sās.*, p. 76. Saddabindu has been ascribed to Kyocvū's preceptor. A commentary entitled *Uttatthavindhan* was written by Nāpavāsa of Pagan Navel. The *ṭīkā* on Saddabindu, called Saddabinduvimochaya, in the India Office, is by Sunassaddhammaratimahāphussadera, vide Faucher, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50. A *ṭīkā* on Paramatthabindu was written at Pagan by the therā Mahākassapa. *Pitakatthamain*, p. 51.

⁵ *Sās.*, p. 77 see Preface to Subhūti's edition of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 2nd ed., Colombo, 1883.

⁶ *Sās.*, p. 76, *GV*, pp. 63, 67, 73.

⁷ Guṇasāra in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xxi.

A Vibhātyattha was written, probably at Pagan, by the thera Saddhammañña early in the fourteenth century¹. Saddhammañña was the author of a more important work on metrics, the Chandosarathavikāsinī² (or Vuttodayapañcikā, being a commentary on Vuttodaya),³ and the Chapecceyadipani, also on prosody⁴. Saddhammañña was not only a Pāli, but a Sanskrit scholar, and translated the Sanskrit grammar Kātantra (Kālpā) into Pāli.⁵

The Gandhatthi, by Maṅgala, is a grammatical work, probably of the fourteenth century, and written at Pagan. At a somewhat later period, but also at Pagan, Śīr saddhammavilāsa composed a Kaccāyana tikā, entitled Saddhammanāsinī⁶.

So far, the production of learned works in the communities of Burma seems to have gone on steadily, in spite of sectarian differences, which, after all, would affect grammarians less than experts in the Vinaya. But a change had come over the fortunes of the Order in the thirteenth century. The Pagan dynasty fell in 1277⁷ under the assaults of Mongol invaders from the north, while nearly at the same time a successful revolt in the south completed the overthrow of the Burmese power. Shān rulers established their capital at Mynzaung (Khandhapura in Pāli), and the glory of Pagan, where the very temples had been torn down to fortify the city against the enemy, was never restored.

The Śāsanavamsa tells us that many monks settled at Mynzaung, but no books were written there.

¹ Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36, Faustöl, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

² Forchhammer, *Report Pagan*, p. 2. *Essay*, p. 36, Faustöl, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 51, 52. Forchhammer, *Loc.*, p. xxii, Pitakatthaman, p. 74.

³ Vuttodaya, a twelfth-century work by Saṅgharakkhita, written in Ceylon, published by Fryer & J.A.S. Bengal, 1877.

⁴ Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 38.

⁵ For remarks on the Kātantra of Śarvavarman and the connection between this system and that of Kaccāyana, see Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 243, and Kuhn.

⁶ Forchhammer, *Report Pagan*, p. 2, and *Loc.*, p. xx. The MS. of Śīr saddhammavilāsa's work in the Mandalay collection is called Kaccāyanasāra Tikā (Faustöl, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 48). The Kaccāyanasāra was composed in the Thawing country (see below, pp. 36, 37).

⁷ Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 25. Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 51, 53, 54. Colonel Burney's translations from Rājavamsa, J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iv, pp. 400 ff.

In 1312 a Shan king Sihāsūra founded Panyā (Pali, Vijaya-pura), where, with a new era of peace and safety for the Order, came a revival of literary activity. In Sihāsūra's reign Śīrūmaṅgala or Śīrūsumaṅgala, one of the most diligent of his fraternity, busied himself with commentaries explaining the grammatical construction of the Samantapāsādikā (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya) and the Abhidhamma commentaries, also ascribed to Buddhaghosa, Atthasālinī, and Sammohavinodanī.¹ This is a good example of reviving monastic industry in that day. And it is quite curious to see in the new court and under the new dynasty a return to the traditions of Narapati and Kyaswa. An important officer of state (a *caturāṅgabālāmaceśa*, to give him his Pali title) under King Kittasihasūra² wrote a *samvayyaṇḍa* (commentary) on Moggallāna's well known Pali dictionary, the Abhidhānappadīpikā.³ The same official wrote *ṭīkā*s on the Ko.addhaja at the request of the thera Pāsādika, and on the Dandippa-kaṇa.⁴

Another essay on Pali grammar, written at Panyā under Kittasihasūra's patronage, was the much-studied Saddasūratthajalīnī (or Jālīnī) of Nāgita, otherwise Khantakakhpa, a monk of Sagu.⁵

A *ṭīkā* on the Vuttodaya of Saṅgharakkhita⁶ was written (at Pagan according to Forchhammer,⁷ at Panyā according to the Gandhavamsa⁸) by Navavimalabuddhi, otherwise Culla-

¹ P.T.H., p. 40.

² Came to the throne A.D. 1351 (Kyaswa IV in Phayre's *History of Burma*, pp. 60, 282); Sās., p. 88.

³ See Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 46, 51.

⁴ GV, pp. 63, 73, Sās., p. 88. The titles last mentioned do not suggest grammar or Buddhist doctrine, but other branches of learning—astrology and poetics. (See Appendix.)

⁵ The quaint nickname Khantakakhpa came from a little adventure of Nāgita's boyhood, when he was not more serious than most boys. He was so unwilling to be taken to the monastery, and resisted so obstinately, that his father lost patience with him, and threw him bodily into a thorny bush. See Sās., p. 88, GV, p. 74, SVD., verse 1249. Forchhammer, *List*, p. xx. There is a commentary on this work at the India Office entitled *Sāramañjūsā*. Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 102.

⁶ Sās., pp. 34, 75.

⁷ *Report* (Pagan), p. 2, *List*, p. xxiii.

⁸ GV, p. 67, the *Pitakatthamain* (p. 74) says at Pagan.

Vimalabuddhi, author of a work called *Abhidhammapanyāsa-saṭṭhāna*,¹ explaining some passages of the *Abhidhamma*. In the *Gandhavamsa* a *Vuttodaya* *ṭīkā* is ascribed to a *Vepulabuddhi* of Pagan, who appears again² as the author of (a) a *ṭīkā* on *Saddasaratthajālinī*, (b) a *Paramatthamañjūsā* (metaphysical), (c) a *ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, called *Dasagaṇṭhi-vannanā* (or *Dasagaṇḍhi-vannana*), and (d) a *ṭīkā* on *Vidadhū-mukhamandana*.³

Another treatise, the *Atthabyakkhyāna* (exegetical or grammatical), is mentioned as the work of a *Culla-Vajirabuddhi* on one page of the *Gandhavamsa*, and put down to *Culla-Vimalabuddhi* in another. Now among the *Sinhalese* authors enumerated in the *Sāsana-vamsa*⁴ we find a *Nava-Vimalabuddhi*, author of an early *ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and a *Cūḷabuddhi*, author of the *Atthabyākkyana*, whereas the only work allowed by the *Sāsana-vamsa* to the Burmese *Culla-Vimalabuddhi* is the *Vuttodaya-ṭīkā*, and to *Vepulla* the *Vacanattajotā*.⁵

Possibly the confusion in the *Gandhavamsa* arises from the author's ignoring the *Sinhalese* *thera* *Vimalabuddhi* (carefully mentioned by the *Sāsana-vamsa* in a passage referring also to *Vimalabuddhi* of Pagan). The name is absent from the *Gandhavamsa* list of *theras* of Ceylon,⁶ while the three, *Nava-Vajirabuddhi*, *Vepullabuddhi*, and *Nava-Vimalabuddhi*, are all put down as *Jambudīpikā* (i.e. belonging to Burma) and their work as composed at Pagan, except in the case of *Nava-Vimalabuddhi*, who wrote, according to this account, at *Panyā*.

These small bibliographical puzzles, which we are not willing

¹ *GV*, pp. 64, 74, not mentioned in the *Sāsana-vamsa*.

² There is an alternative reading, *Vimalabuddhi*, but the editor (*Minayeff*), following no doubt the best MSS., has preferred *Vepulla* in these passages of the *Gandhavamsa*.

³ Apparently the *Vidagdhāmukhamandana* (on riddles) of *Dharmadāsa* (see Appendix).

⁴ *Sās.*, p. 34.

⁵ *Sās.*, p. 75, the *Vacanattajotā*, gloss on *Vuttodaya*, ascribed to *Vepullabuddhi*, is probably a fourteenth-century work. *Forchhammer*, *Essay*, p. 36, *Fausbøll*, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 51.

⁶ *GV*, p. 87.

to leave unsolved but must waste much time in solving, result sometimes from the choice of well-known or well-sounding Pali names by theas of different epochs and their pupils, commentators and copyists, sometimes from the renaming of distinguished teachers by their royal admirers. It would be well to have all such details exact, but when dealing with this early period of Pali-Burmese literature it is difficult to avoid confusing Burmese with Sinhalese authors.

The *Saddavutti*, or *Saddavuttapakāśaka*, by *Saddhammapāla*, a grammatical treatise, probably belongs to the fourteenth century.¹ If so, it was written when the great importance of Pagan as a religious centre had declined, though the author is mentioned by Forchhammer as one of those who worked in the famous retreat of the 'Maramma' Fraternity near the old capital. Here also the *ṭīka* on the *Saddavutti* was composed by *Sāriputta* (also called *Sāriputtara*).² The *Sasana-vamṣa*³ calls the author of *Saddavutti*, *Saddhammaguru*, and states that he wrote at Panya, in the *Gandhavamṣa*,⁴ however, *Saddhammaguru* is among the *ācariyas* who wrote at Pagan.

The *Niruttsāramañjūsī*, a *ṭīka* on the *Nirutti*,⁵ ascribed to *Kaccāyana*, is by a *Saddhammaguru*,⁶ perhaps the author of the *Saddavutti*.

A grammatical work entitled *Sambandhamahinī* was, according to the *Pitakatthamaṇi*,⁷ composed at Pagan. Neither the date nor the author's name is given.

Our list of grammarians does not end even here. But those to be mentioned later belong to the new period beginning with the foundation of Ava (Pali, *Ratanapura*) by the Burmese

¹ Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 26, PTH, p. 71.

² Forchhammer, *Report* (Pagan), p. 2, *List*, p. xix. A later *ṭīka* and a *Saddavuttivivaraṇa* are mentioned in GV (pp. 65, 75), without names of authors. The *ṭīkā* in the India Office collection is by Jāgara Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

³ *Slu.*, p. 80.

⁴ GV, p. 67.

⁵ Also called the *Niruttipitaka*, a grammatical treatise. See SVD., verses 1233, 1234.

⁶ Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 49.

⁷ *Pitakatthamaṇi*, p. 73.

prince Satava or Thado-mun-byā in the year 1364, after the fall of the Shān rulers of Panya and Sagaing.¹

As the delta region had not been without a literary history after the Burmese conquest in the eleventh century, we must now turn back to earlier times, before following the progress of learning in both Lower and Upper Burma from the fifteenth century onwards.

¹ Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 63, 64, *Ind. Ant.*, xxi., p. 8.

CHAPTER III

BUDDHISM AND PALI LITERATURE IN MARTABAN (MUTUMA)
AND AT PEGU CITY (HAMSĀVATĪ, FROM THE TWELFTH
TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—DHAMMACETI AND THE
KALYĀṆĪ INSCRIPTIONS—LITERATURE IN UPPER BURMA
FROM THE FOUNDATION OF AVA (RATANAPURA) TO THE
END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

§ 1. Pegu (*Rāmaññadesa*).

Buddhist learning in *Rāmaññadesa*, the Talaing country, may have been greatly impoverished by the carrying away of texts and scholars from Sudhammapura at the time of Anorata's successful raid, but we do not positively know that it was so. Indeed, a country so easy of access from India, Ceylon, and Indo-China must have continued to receive new contributions to its intellectual store, the northern rulers, professing Buddhism themselves, could have no motive for discouraging students or pilgrims from abroad and it is not likely that the Order suffered in any way from the Burmese power established in the south after the fall of Thatōn.

However, the first literary personage of *Rāmañña* that we meet in the *Sūsanavamsa* is Sārputta, afterwards named Dhammavilāsa, a twelfth century author¹. Sārputta was born at Padipajeyya, near Dala (opposite Rangoon), and entered the Order late in life. He was still a novice (*sāmaṇera*) when he went to Pagan² in the reign of Narapata-si-thu and received the *upasampadā* ordination from the therā Ānanda, one of the four who had accompanied Chapaṭa returning from Ceylon. Being thus inducted into the *Sihaḷasaṅgha*, Sārputta could claim to be in the direct 'line of descent', to use the ecclesiastical phrase, from the ancient teachers of the Mahāvihāra. He became one of the leaders of the sect.

¹ See Sir John Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, iv, Preface to Forchhammer's translation of the *Wagaru Dhammathai*, p. 5, Forchhammer, *Essay*, pp. 29, 35.

² *Sās.*, p. 41

It is said that the king heard of the aged monk's learning and holiness and thought of appointing him royal preceptor, but before summoning Sāriputta he sent some court officials to find out what manner of man he was. When they returned and described him as extremely old and feeble (some say, with a slight deformity as well), Narapati was unwilling to put on him the labour and fatigue of being the king's *ācariya*, and contented himself with honouring the *thera* in other ways.

Sāriputta was afterwards sent to his native country to 'purify religion' there, which (in the *Sasanavamsa*) means that he was to represent the Sihala-saṅgha in the south. This was duly done by Sāriputta, who settled at Dala and handed on the Mahavihāra tradition to his pupils. The establishment of the Ceylon school in the Talaing country is said to date from that time. It is interesting to remember in this connection that, according to the *Mahavamsa*, an earlier generation of scholars in Ramañña had supplied teachers to the Sinhalese fraternity, when *theras* of Sāriputta's country were called upon, in Vijayabahu's reign (A.D. 1071-1123), to come over to Ceylon and restore learning there.* Sāriputta probably lived till the year 1246. It is difficult to distinguish his religious works (if he composed any) from those of the other Sāriputtas of that epoch.² His most interesting work, from the historical point of view, was neither in grammar, *Vimaya*, nor *Abhidhamma*, and is not mentioned in the *Sāsana-vamsa* or in the *Gandhavamsa*. Sāriputta, or Dhammavilāsa (to call him by the name conferred on him as a title of honour by Narapati), is known to be the author of one of the earliest law codes of Burma.³

* Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.* p. 132, note (reference to *Mahāv.* ix, 5).

² See *Sās.* p. 33. *GV.*, pp. 62, 66, 67, 71, Forchhammer, *List*, pp. v, vii. Two Sāriputtas are mentioned in the *Gandhavamsa* list of doctors of Ceylon, one among those of Burma. *Tikkā* on the *Āṅguttaramikāya*, *Maḍḍimanikāya*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and a *tikkā* on it were written in Ceylon by a Sāriputta of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-84), a contemporary therefore of Sāriputta of Dala.

³ Taw Sein Ko says 'The dates of birth and death of Dhammavilāsa as well as of the completion of his *Dhammathat* are unknown. Even the *Sāsana-saṅgāhāra*, compiled as late as 1832 A.D. by the learned monk Maung Daung sa dō, Archbishop of King Bōdōp'aya at Amarapura, is silent on these points' (*Ind. Ant.*, xiv, p. 302).

Dhammavilāsa's code stands at the beginning of a series of Pali and Burmese Buddhist law texts, which are of the greatest interest as disclosing, to quote Forchhammer's words, 'the practical effect of a religious system upon the social and political growth of the Talangs and Burmans.'¹ The question of the remote origin of these codes is a fascinating and difficult one.

Whether the Brahmanic (caste and sacerdotal) element was eliminated from them by later Buddhist lawgivers, or whether they, with all their essential Buddhistic features, go back to 'the law of Manu as it existed in India prior to the ascendancy of Brahmanism', cannot be decided without a complete knowledge of the oldest law-codes of India. And for our present purpose it must be enough (however unsatisfactory an 'enough') to say that the Talang monk Sariputta or Dhammavilāsa was the author of the oldest *dhammasattha* known by name to future generations in Burma.

The Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat² was the basis of later codes, Pali and Burmese, which took this title, and the Talang influence,³ to be recognized by the presence of a Hindu element, is visible in the Pali codes till the eighteenth century.

While Dhammavilāsa and his pupils were establishing the 'succession of theras' at Dala, a like movement took place in Martaban (Muttima). The opposition between the Sihajja-saṃgha and the other sects, which had been manifested so keenly at Pagan, was thus continued in the south. The queen's two preceptors, Buddhavaṃsa and Mahānāga, had

¹ See the *Jardine Prize Essay* (Forchhammer) and translations of legal texts, accompanied by valuable introductory remarks and notes published in Sir John Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, Rangoon. 1882-3.

² Forchhammer did not succeed in finding the original Pali Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat. He mentions a commentary composed about 1656 A.D., and a Burmese version by Nandamāla, made at Amarapura in 1768. *Essay*, p. 29, see also *Notes on Buddhist Law*, part iv, Preface to translation of the Wagarudhammathat on marriage and divorce, p. 3.

³ Another example is the Wagarudhammathat, an important code drawn up in Talang by Wagaru, king of Martaban (A.D. 1281-1306). The Pali translation was made at the end of the fifteenth century. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, vol. iii, p. xi.

visited Ceylon, had gone through a course of instruction, and received re-ordination at the Mahāvihāra.¹ On their return to Martaban they separated themselves from the other communities, and a Ceylon sect was formed.

Afterwards, for many generations, a scholarly rivalry existed between Pegu and Burma, of which we shall hear something in the later history of their literature. Possibly Talaing authors may have been drawn together then by a bond of nationality stronger than the ties of sect, but the *Sāsana-vamśa* makes the distinction chiefly between the *Sihala-saṃgha* theras and the members of the *Ārahanīyagana*, whose 'direct descent' was denied by those of the Mahāvihāra tradition.

Our Pali chronicle says little about Martaban and nothing about Wagaru, who, however, reigned wisely for twenty-two years. We can only suppose that he did not protect the *Sihala-saṃgha* with any particular zeal. A historian of the Talaing country and the old tradition could fill the gap and give us more details of the progress of learning in the south. But we know that the well-being of the Order depended on the state of the country, and it is probable that the *Sāsana-vamśa* leaves out very little that is of importance in the list, though a singularly short one, of works written in Rāmañña during the two centuries between Dhammavilāsa's long life and the revival of religion connected with the name of Dhammaceti in the fifteenth century. The Shāns, whose growing power in Burma had broken down the old Pagan dynasty, were not disposed to leave Martaban and Pegu in peace.² The Zimmé Shāns had also pushed westward. Changes of rulers and the skirmishing warfare around the unstable thrones of the small southern kingdoms must have deprived the monasteries of much valuable patronage, even if the monks were left undisturbed. For nearly every mention of important literary work in chronicles like the *Sāsana-vamśa* is accompanied by mention of some royal or wealthy patron. And this need not surprise us or force us to conclude that the Order was

¹ *SSA*, p. 42.

² See Forbes, *Legendary History*, pp. 25, 27, Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 65 ff.

at any time in slavish dependence on royalty and riches. Literary work required a more spacious, convenient *vihāra* than was needed for the simple round of the mendicant's ordinary life, besides a whole library of sacred texts. To supply all these and other necessities of scholarship was a highly meritorious act, and rich laymen were as eager to acquire merit in such ways as the monks were content to accept their gifts. But, still, there were times when, as the chroniclers say, 'religion was dimmed.'

The briefer a literary history is, the more we need to be clear as to the chronology of the works chosen to illustrate it. But often this is only placing together fragments by guess-work. We are glad to meet any evidence of the state of scholarship at a given period, such as the Talaing inscriptions found by Forchhammer near the Kumārasetti pagoda in Pegu. Forchhammer observed that these inscriptions (which record the contributions of pious people to the rebuilding of the *ceṭiya* and a *vihāra*) are in more ancient lettering than those of the Kelasa pagoda in the same region. These latter can be dated with certainty as fifteenth-century, and Forchhammer believed the older writing to belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century. 'when with the rise of Wagaru, King of Martaban, a new impulse had been given to native learning, and Buddhism again had attained to exclusive predominance on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.'¹

A south-country author who doubtless belongs to the fourteenth century is Medhamkara, who wrote the well-known *Lokadipasara*. The *Sāsana-vamsa* tells us that he was the preceptor of Queen Bhadda, the mother of Setubhinda, the king reigning at Muttimanagara (Martaban).² Medhamkara had gone through a course of study in Ceylon, and lived afterwards

¹ Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History*, etc., ii, p. 8. Forchhammer mentions elsewhere an important sect founded in the south by Buddhavamsa afterwards known, for the confusion of future Burmese chroniclers, as Culla-Buddhaghosa. He also had sojourned in Ceylon and held Sūbhāṣe views of orthodoxy. *Jardine's Prue Essay*, pp. 64, 65.

² *Sāa*, p. 42. Setubhinda, or Bingā-dā, began to reign A.D. 1348, and assumed the title Han-bpyu-shun (possessor of a white elephant). He made Martaban his capital.

at Martaban.¹ The Lokadīpasāra is described by Oldenberg as 'a collection of chapters on different subjects, arranged according to a cosmological scheme'. The chapters deal with different stages of existence—in hell, in the animal kingdom, among the *pretas* (ghosts), and so forth, and the subjects are illustrated by legends.

Hamsāvati (Pegu city), the capital of the kingdom of Pegu from the middle of the fourteenth century, also had its learned theas, the Apheggusara, written at Hamsavati by a scholar whose name is not mentioned in the Sāsana-vamsa, deals with Abhidhamma topics.²

Some important grammatical work was also done in the south—and at the ill-fated Thatōn—by the thea Mahāyasa of that city. Neither the thea nor his books are mentioned in the Sāsana-vamsa, though the Kaccāyanabheda and Kaccāyanasāra not only became standard texts for commentators and students in Burma, but have since been better known in Ceylon than works of Burmese grammarians usually are.

The Kaccayanabheda, also called the Kaccāyanabhedadīpikā, deals with the grammatical terminology of Kaccāyana; the Kaccāyanasāra, as the title shows, is a résumé of or textbook on the teaching of that great grammatical authority.

A *ṭīkā* on Kaccayanāsara was written by Mahāyasa himself,³

¹ Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* p. 42, Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. at India Office*, p. 126. The Gandhavaṃsa calls the author of Lokadīpasāra, Nava-Medhamkara Medhamkara, the younger. The Medhamkara who appears in the list of the theas who worked at Pagan is probably not the same.

² See Saa, p. 48, also Forchhammer, *List*, p. xviii, where Apheggupatho and Apheggusārādīpanipatho are mentioned. The Gandhavaṃsa is silent about this work. In Nevill's MS Catalogue, Apheggusārādīpani is described as an *anuttikā* dealing with matter in the Abhidhammattha vibhāvanī. Cf. Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 39, where the author proposes to give the subtle and profound sāra (essence) of 'all the books'. The Apheggusārādīpani, according to the Mandalay MS, was composed at Hamsāvati by the *gacariya* of Queen Sivalī. He was Mahāsaṃvāradīpa, the son of Parakkamabāhalarāja.

³ For Kaccāyanabheda and Kaccāyanasāra see SVD., vers 1250, GV., p. 74, Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xx and xxi, where the author is called Raza of Thatōn. The name Mahāyasa is given by Nevill on Sūbhassana authority. In Fausbøll's *Catalogue*, p. 47 the name is Raza, in GV., p. 74, Dhammananda, the Pāṭikattthamain (p. 69) says that Mahāyasa was the author.

another by Saddhammavilāsa of Pagan,¹ whose *ṭikā* on Kaccāyanasāra is known as the Sammohavinūsanī. Yasa's later commentators were scholars of Burma. Among them we shall find the well-known names of Ariyālamkāra and Tipitakālamkāra of Ava.²

As to the date of Kaccāyanasāra, we may say that it probably was not written before the thirteenth century, as it contains quotations from the twelfth century treatises Bālāvatāra, Rupasiddhi, Cūḷanirutti, and Sambandhacintā.³ On the other hand, it was known not only in Pegu but in Upper Burma by the middle of the fifteenth century, as we know from the fact that a copy was presented to a monastery at Pagan in 1442.⁴

Probably Mahāyasa belongs to the reign of Han-hpyu-shin (Pali Setabhinda), who established his capital at Pegu in 1370. Han-hpyu-shin finished his reign in comparative calm,⁵ and was, after his manner, religious. There was even a temporary peace between Pegu and Burma, but when Setabhinda died his successors plunged into war, and a state of things grievously unfriendly to scholarship began again. But in the fifteenth century came a great revival of religion under Dhammaceti, King of Pegu, who reigned 822-53 B. (A.D. 1460-91).⁶

Dhammaceti's reign was doubly memorable. He was famous far beyond the limits of his own country for his statesmanship and magnificence, and renowned in the whole Buddhist world for his piety. The story of his elevation to the throne gives us the impression of a very unusual personality. He was not

¹ Forchhammer, *Report*, Pagan, p. 2.

² Ariyālamkāra's *ṭikā* on Kaccāyanasāra is entitled *Sāratthavikāsanī*.

³ Written in Ceylon; see above, p. 32.

⁴ See Appendix to this chapter.

⁵ Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 27; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 67.

⁶ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 290. Forbes remarks (*Legendary History*, p. 31) that the various copies of the Taming histories differ as to the dates of the several monarchs reigning in Pegu 'between 710 and 900 or A.D. 1370-1538. The Burmese era quoted here is the Kaliyuga (as the word is usually employed in the *Sāsānavamāsa*, reckoning from 638 A.D. (See Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 14.) The date given in the *Sāsānavamāsa* for Dhammaceti's accession is A.B. 2002, which corresponds to A.D. 1458. I must correct here a blunder in my edition, where 202 (*divisate*) should be 2002 (*divisakassa*). (*Sās.*, p. 43.)

of the blood royal, and came first from Burma as a simple monk, one of two who had aided the flight of a Péguan princess from the Burmese Court. This princess, married against her will to the King of Ava, was afterwards the famous Queen Shin-sau-bu. When she assumed the sovereignty in Pegu (1453 A.D.) the sometime monk Dhammaceti, who had so devotedly befriended her, became her chief minister and later her son-in-law and successor.¹ Dhammaceti was not only a protector of the Order he had quitted, but a reformer in the orthodox sense. Something of the ecclesiastic reappears in the monarch's attachment to the Sihalasamgha, an attachment to which the celebrated Kalyāṇi inscriptions bear witness. These inscriptions, found in a suburb of Pegu city, were carved on stone tablets by order of Dhammaceti, and are a very interesting chapter in the Pali records of Buddhism. They relate how the king determined to give the Order in Rāmañña a duly consecrated place for ceremonies, and how, after earnest study of authoritative texts, he sent a mission to Ceylon with this object. The monks sent by him received the *upasampadā* ordination afresh from the Mahāvihāra fraternity within consecrated boundaries on the Kalyāṇi River, near Colombo, and on their return consecrated the enclosure in Pegu, henceforth known as the Kalyāṇisīmā.² Within these boundaries the *upasampadā* could be conferred as from the direct spiritual successors of Mahinda, the great missionary to Ceylon, and thus the link was restored in the 'succession of teachers' broken (said the Sihalasamgha doctors) in Rāmañña.

¹ See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 84, Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 32.

² See Law Sein Ko's *Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of Dhammaceti*, 1476 A.D. 'The ceremonial [for consecration of a *sīmā*] has been interpreted in various ways by the commentators and scholars on the Mahāvagga, such as the Vinayatthakathā, Sāratthadīpanī, Vimativinodanī, Vinayaṭṭhā by Vajrabuddhi thera, Kankhāvitaranī, Vinayavimochaya-pakarana, Vinayasamgahapakarana, and the Sīmāmpkārasamgaha, and the object of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions and to prescribe a ceremony for the consecration of a *sīmā* which shall be in accordance with what is said down by Gautama Buddha, and which at the same time shall not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators (*Ind. Ant.* xxi, p. 11). The *sīmā* is described in this article as a boundary formed by pits filled with water, the appropriate Kammavācā are chanted as the consecrating ceremony.

We must not forget how vital this matter appeared to Burmese Buddhists. The Order, in so far as such questions had gained importance for it, was somewhat less of a free fraternity and more of a 'church', and the point of view taken by the monks was an ecclesiastical one. The part taken by the king is worthy of notice.

In the case of the Kalyāṇasīma Dhammaceti used his royal authority to support his own deep conviction, and, as often happened in its history, the orthodox Sangha had the temporal power to some extent at its service. Not that the Sangha in Burma has ever claimed authority over consciences (i.e. the right to persecute). It has been as all other truly free associations, and, with time, has known divisions and developed factions, and a sect has sometimes had powerful supporters who were not content to stop short at a moral ascendancy over man. The perfect tolerance inculcated by the religion was hard for some of these strenuous minds to accept, and even Dhammaceti, though he was far indeed from being a despot in religion, was anxious to establish orthodoxy in his kingdom. The Ka-yāpi inscriptions show us to what degree a religious superiority over the rest of the community was claimed by those who had received the Ceylon ordination and were called the Sihaḷasaṃgha.

An interesting literary point is the mention of the standard authorities on Vinaya subjects at the time,¹ and details as to the instruction required for novices and monks. These treatises are mostly of Siṃhalese authorship.

Besides those of an older period we hear of the well-known Vajirabuddhīṭikā (sometimes called the Vinayagandhi or Vinayagandhī), a ṭikā or explanation of difficult passages in

¹ e.g. the Sāratthadīpanī mostly by Sāriputta of Ceylon (Sās., p. 33; Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 12); the Vimativinodanī by Kassapa of the Tamil country [Damilarattha] Sās., p. 33, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 13); the Vinaya ṭikā by Vajirabuddhī (Sās., p. 33, GV., p. 60); the Vinayavinūchaya by Buddhadeva of Ceylon (Sās., p. 33, GV., p. 59, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 18); the Vinayasamgaha by Sāriputta of Ceylon (Sās., p. 33, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 7). The Simālakāra pakarana of Chapata was a result of the Takung Thera's studies in Ceylon. Two Vinaya treatises the Pāṭimokkharasodhanī and Simābandhanī ṭikā, may belong to this period, but neither dates nor authors are mentioned. See P. TH., p. 44.

the Vinaya commentaries. The author, Mahāvajirabuddhi of Ceylon, was a contemporary of Dhammaceti, to whom he sent a copy of his work.

§ 2. *Buddhist Literature in Panyā (Vijayapura), Ava (Ratanapura), Taungu (Jeyyavaddhana), and Laos.—Ariyavamsa.—Grammar, Poetry, and Abhidhamma in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*

We must now follow the rather faint track of Burmese literary history from the time of the revolt and separation of the Southern provinces.

The chronicles of Burma tell us of a continual struggle between different dynasties and the hostile races they represented — Burmese, Talaing, and Shān. The Shāns, forced southward and westward by the Mongol armies of Kublai Khan, had become a powerful element in Burma in the thirteenth century. They had penetrated to the south, and the Talaing population had accepted in Wagaru a ruler who was probably of half-Shan extraction. In Burma the King of Pagan (Kyaswa) was deposed in 1298 by the three Shān governors whose territories surrounded his diminished and enfeebled kingdom. The three, being brothers, held together and founded the dynasty that reigned at Myinzaing (Khandhapura),¹ Panyā (Vijayapura), and Sagaing (Jeyyapura) till the prince Thadomunbya, who was believed to be of Burmese royal race, made himself master of Upper Burma and founded Ava in 1364.²

Ava (Ratanapura), though not always of great importance as a capital, remained a religious and literary centre for many generations of authors. It is not necessary for our present purpose to look further into the records of war, revolts, counter-revolts, marriages, and murders of those times, except when such events are connected with religious history and, by a rare chance, the name of a saintly celebrity or the title of a book

¹ Forbes, *Legendary History*, p. 28, Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 62.

² Sās., p. 81. 'The three brothers, having deposed Kittitara in the year 664 of the Kalyuga, set up their rule in Khandhapura.'

³ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 62. Sās., p. 90, 'in the year 722 of the Kalyuga.'

can be rescued from the tangle. The city of Ratanapura did not entirely supersede Pagan, Panya, and Sagaing in religious importance. From all we can learn about the place and date of the Pali works possible to place between the founding of Ava and the middle of the sixteenth century, it seems that scholars were always to be found busy in the monasteries near the chief cities. However turbulent the times may have been, the reigning families protected the Order and loaded it with bounty. Their example was followed by men and women of rank and wealth.¹

The *Sāsanavamsa* gives us a glimpse into the life of a monastic scholar of those days in the story of Ariyavamsa, a celebrated teacher and author of the fifteenth century.² Ariyavamsa, who was of Pagan and a member of the Chapata sect, settled in Ava in the reign of Narapati (1442-68).³ Before he became famous he went to Sagaing to study grammar with the learned there known as Ye-din ('the water-carrier'). The chronicler tells us how Ye-din came by his name. Either to restrain his own inclination for talk or because he found the brethren too talkative, he was in the habit of keeping his mouth filled with water when others were present. When the young monk from Pagan first arrived at his monastery there seemed little hope that the silent Water-carrier would discourse to him on grammar. But Ariyavamsa was not to be discouraged. He came daily to the *vihāra*, performing all the services of a disciple for Ye-din, till the latter broke his silence to ask the reason of the there's visit. Ariyavamsa craved leave to study with the famous *donriya*, since, though he had studied many texts, he had not grasped their meaning, and, till then, *upadesa* (exposition) of other masters had not helped him. Ye-din was touched and consented to give some of his time to the inquirer, and then explained the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*.⁴

¹ See the very interesting collection, *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, edited by Taw Sein Ko and translated by Tun Nye n of the Burma Secretariat, Rangoon, 1899. The list of works mentioned in an inscription of 1442 A.D. is very valuable for the chronology of works that we could not otherwise date. See Appendix to this chapter.

² *Sāsa*, pp. 25 ff.

³ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 235.

⁴ Commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*.

to him with 'various methods of exposition'. Ariyavamsa was soon able to tell his preceptor that, thanks to his teaching, his pupil had grasped all the knowledge he had missed till then. The *acariya* then charged him to do his part in helping others by writing a commentary on the text he felt best fitted to expound. Ariyavamsa chose the *Abhidhammatthavibhāṇī*, and composed a commentary on it entitled *Mamañramañjūsā*. While writing it he submitted it, chapter by chapter, to the criticism of his fellow-monks, reading it aloud to them as they sat assembled on *uposatha* days in the courtyard of the *Puññacetiya*.

A very charming little anecdote is told of his readiness to accept correction. On one occasion a monk seated in the assembly twice uttered a loud sound of disapproval during the reading. Ariyavamsa noted the passages that had called forth these protests, and also found out where the objector lived. Returned to his own *vihāra* he carefully reviewed his work and found two things to correct—a fault of composition (repeating the same explanation twice) and a fault of grammar (a mistake in the gender of a word). He corrected them, sent for the other monk, and mildly asked him what fault he found with the work that had cost the writer the intense labour of long days and nights to compose. The other replied bluntly that there was little fault to find, the book was perfect as to its words and sense, but he had observed two faults, an unnecessary repetition and a wrong gender, and he would not let them pass without protest. And Ariyavamsa rejoiced in his heart and took off his garment of fine cloth and gave it to the other, saying, 'With this do I pay reverence to thy knowledge.' Few as the words are, there shines through them the scholar's clear and simple soul.

Ariyavamsa lived and wrote for some time at Sagaing, but taught afterwards at Ava, where the king was sometimes among his hearers. One of his most important later works was another *Abhidhamma* study entitled *Maṇḍipa*, a *ṭīkā* on the *Atthasālinī*!

* Commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgati* of the *Abhidhammapitaka*. See Forchhammer *List*, p. xviii; GV, pp. 65, 67, 75, Bā., p. 96. Fausbøll, *Cat. Mend. MSS.*, p. 34. PTH. (p. 40) gives 1442 A.D. as the date of the *Maṇḍipa*.

of Buddhaghosa. He also composed a grammatical treatise, the *Gandhābharapa*,¹ and a study of the *Jātaka*, *Jātakavimodhana*.

These works were composed, according to the old scholarly tradition, in Pali, but Ariyavamsa was a teacher not content to write only for the learned. He stands out in the *Sāsana-vamsa*'s record of literary theras as the first name connected with a metaphysical work in the vernacular. He composed an *athayagand* or interpretation in Burmese of a commentary called the *Anuṭṭika* on the *Abhidhamma*.² The *Gandhāvamsa* attributes another work entitled *Mahānissaya*³ to Ariyavamsa, but there is no mention of it in the *Sāsana-vamsa*.

Ariyavamsa may have been still living when a new writer came to Ava whose talents gained him the favour of the king.⁴ This was Silavamsa, of Taung-dwin-gyi, who had already composed a poetical version of the *Sumedhakathā*,⁵ a poem entitled *Buddhālamkāra*, and another, apparently on his native city, dignified by its Pali name *Pabbatabbhantara*. Silavamsa was thirty years of age when he came to the capital. The king, after the manner of royal patrons of religion, established him in a *vihāra* where other honoured teachers had lived before him, and there he lectured on the sacred texts. He, like Ariyavamsa, laboured to spread religious learning by interpreting Pali texts in the vernacular. A Burmese *athayagand* of the *Nettipakaraṇa*,⁶ and another edifying work, the *Parāyanavathu*, prove that he was not merely a poet, though the author of the *Sāsana-vamsa* seems rather inclined to reproach him for his attachment to verse.

¹ The *Gandhābharapa* (otherwise *Ganthābharapa* or *Gandābharapa*) was studied and glossed by well-known Burmese scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and re-edited among standard works recently.

² The work generally known as the *Anuṭṭika* was written by Dhammapāla to supplement the original *ṭīkā* of Ānanda on the *Abhidhamma*. See the *Sāsana-vamsa*'s list of commentaries composed in Ceylon (*Sas*, p. 33).

³ I am not sure that this word should not be *Mahānissaya* (chief commentary or gloss in Burmese), the work would probably be the *athayagand*, of which mention has been made above.

⁴ *Dutiyamin-khaung* or *Sirindhammarājadhipati*, who began to reign A.D. 1470. *Sis*, p. 98, 'the year 842 of the Kaliyuga.' Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 285.

⁵ The story of the ascetic *Sumedha* forms part of the Introduction (*Niddāna*) to the *Jātaka* commentary. See Fausbøll's edition of the *Jātaka*, vol. i, pp. 2-28.

⁶ See pp. 5, 8.

Another poet of Ava, Raṭṭhasāra,¹ born in 1468, composed metrical versions of the Bhūridattajātaka,² Hatthipālayātaka,³ and Samvarajātaka,⁴ besides a number of other poems. He may have been a good verse-maker and the tone of his poems religious, but he comes under the same mild censure as his brother-poet. In fact, the old-time chroniclers (*porḍā*) exclude these two from the succession of theras precisely because they not only wrote verses but recited them, and instructed their pupils in the same art of recitation. The Sāsanaṃvamsa gravely explains that this is a question of discipline too large to be treated in the chronicle, and we are referred to a modern Vinaya treatise, the Upasathavinicchaya, for details. The composing and reciting of poems was apparently a transgression of the religious rule (*sikkhapada*) concerning singing and dancing. Taking part in or looking on at such performances is forbidden to monks (*saṃaṇa*) and all those under temporary vows (*uposathikā*), who have undertaken a stricter self-denial than the ordinary layman.⁵

Silavamsa and Raṭṭhasāra were probably not the only poets of the monasteries in those days, but unfortunately such authors are far less likely to find mention, at least in religious chronicles, than the grammarians and expounders of Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

The Kayaviratigāthā mentioned in the Gandhavamsa,⁶ but not in the Sāsanaṃvamsa, perhaps belongs to this epoch. It is described as a beautiful Pali poem of 274 verses on the subject of sensuality.⁷

¹ Sās., p. 99, 'in the year 830 of the Kaliyuga.'

² Jātaka, No. 543. See Fausbøll's edition of the Jātaka with its commentary, vol. vi, pp. 167-219.

³ Jātaka, No. 509. Fausbøll, iv, pp. 473-91.

⁴ Jātaka, No. 482. Fausbøll, iv, pp. 130-6.

⁵ The Buddhist lay are only bound to observe five fundamental rules of conduct, whereas the Order observes ten. A layman may bind himself to keep eight of the ten on the Upasatha days (occurring four times a month). See Kern, *Man Ind. Buddh.*, p. 70. Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language* articles 'Sīlam' and 'Upasatho'.

⁶ GV., pp. 65, 75.

⁷ A tikā on it is ascribed to a monk of Pakudhanagara (Pegu city?). See the *British Museum Catalogue of Pali MSS.* and Mr Nevill's note on the copy in his collection.

Till the beginning of the sixteenth century religion seems to have been respected in the Burmese kingdoms notwithstanding their chronic state of disturbance and change. But when the Shān chief of Monyin, after years of raiding and plundering, overthrew the King of Ava¹ and placed his own son Thohanbwā on the throne, even the Buddhist Order was cruelly persecuted. To Thohanbwā any community of monks meant a body of unmarried, disciplined men, far more dangerous to a despotic and hated government than fathers of families, and he deliberately set about exterminating the hapless mendicants. In the massacres that followed pagodas and monasteries went up in flames and precious libraries were destroyed.² But even in the terror and desolation around him the thera Saddhammakitti, a pupil of Ariyavamsa, was faithful to the cause of scholarship. He believed, as Arāhanta had believed and preached to the Burmese conqueror of Pegu centuries before, that the fate of religion was bound up with the right understanding of the sacred texts, and that this must rest on a right knowledge of their language. And he did the best he could for the faith in those calamitous days by compiling the famous vocabulary *Ekakkharakosa*.³

Saddhammakitti died at Taungu (Ketumati), then the capital of an independent kingdom⁴ and a refuge for great numbers of the Burmese who had fled from the cruel tyranny of Thohanbwā. The King of Taungu, Mahaurijeyyasūra,⁵ protected religion and built *cetiyas* and *vihāras*.⁶ Thus, in Taungu, where the Order was safe and in peace, not, as in Ava, barely surviving a relentless persecution, it was possible to discuss points of discipline. And a controversy arose on the use of fermented drinks. Intoxicants are forbidden to the

¹ Mahārājādhipati (1501-26). Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 87-92, 93.

² Sās., pp. 70-100. The Sāsana-vamsa gives the date of these dire events as 'the year 887 of the Kalyuga' — A.D. 1525).

³ The *Ekakkharakosa* is not mentioned in the *Gandhava-vamsa*. (In the Mandalay collection at the India Office there is a work entitled *Sirivorttānāpkāra* by a Saddhammakitti, but whether by the author of the *Ekakkharakosa* I cannot say. See Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 52.)

⁴ Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 90 ff.

⁵ Came to the throne in 1485 and reigned forty-five years.

⁶ Sās., p. 80.

Order, but the commentaries on the Vinaya (for example, the *Kaṅkhavitaranī* of Buddhaghosa) left it doubtful whether the juice of the palm and coconut trees could lawfully be drunk by the religious or not. Some maintained that such juices were lawful if drunk as they flowed from the tree, others denied it, as some commentaries spoke of the 'elements of intoxication' latent in the seed, and the dispute continued till the thera Mahāparakkama, 'seated in the midst,' settled the question. According to his judgment, which was accepted by the disputants, the juices in question might be drunk, but only fresh from the tree. Mahāparakkama afterwards treated the whole subject in a work entitled *Surāvinicchaya*¹ (Decisions concerning Intoxicants).

It would seem that religion was not long or greatly in danger at Panya, as the *Sūsanavamsa* assures us that many authors wrote there.² Only two names are given, however—Saddhammaguru, the author of *Saddavutti*, and *Vijitāvi*, celebrated for two grammatical treatises, a *Kaccāyanavannanā*, or commentary on the *Sandhikappa* (section treating of euphonic combination of letters) of Kaccāyana's grammar,³ and the *Vācakopadesa*, still recognized by Burmese scholars. The *Vācakopadesa* 'treats the grammatical categories from a logical point of view' (Oldenberg). These familiar names are missing from the *Gandhavamsa*. The MS. of a *tīkā* on *Vācakopadesa* in the India Office⁴ gives the date of this treatise as A.D. 1606. In 1530 began a more auspicious epoch for the Order. A warlike and able ruler, Ta-bin-shwe-hti, succeeded Mahāsari, ceyyasura as King of Taungu.⁵

Ta-bin-shwe-hti conquered Pegu, where he not only protected religion but added to his own glory by his magnificent foundations. In his reign a revolution overthrew the Shān

¹ *Sās.*, p. 81.

² *Sās.*, p. 90.

³ *Fausbøll, Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 45, *SVD.*, verse 1242. The *Vācakopadesa* is mentioned without the author's name in *Forchhammer's List*, p. xxii.

⁴ Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 104. The commentary on *Vācakopadesa*, by another *Vijitāvi*, was written at Sagaing. The two works and the author are mentioned P.T.H., p. 71.

⁵ 1530 A.D., Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 93.

prince reigning at Ava, who had cruelly persecuted the monks, and before many years the Shān rule succumbed before Bayin Naung. Ava was taken by the Burmese under this famous soldier's command in 1555.

Bayin Naung,¹ one of the most striking figures in the history of Burma, the sometime general and vice-regent of Ta-bin-shwe-hti and successor to the throne, united Burma and Pegu into one empire and carried his conquests into the Northern Shān States, Laos and Siam. He was a zealous Buddhist, zealous, indeed, to intolerance, and forced an outward profession of Buddhism on all his subjects, native or foreign.² Nevertheless, all we hear of him in the *Sāsana-vamsa* is that in 1578 'the Lord of many white elephants',³ then at the height of his power but near his end, appointed his son regent of Laos and sent the thera *Saddhammacakkasāmi* with him to 'purify religion' in the conquered provinces. A few names of scholarly monks and their works are associated with Laos in this period. *Nāṇavilāsa* wrote the *Sanḥyāpakasaka*,⁴ and *Sirimāṅgala* a *ṭīkā* on that work and the commentary *Mangaladīpanī*. A thera whose name is not mentioned wrote the *Uppātasanti*.⁵

At Hamsavati some work was done in the way of commenting on the *Abhidhamma*. The thera *Saddhammālamkāra* wrote the *Paṭṭhānasāradīpanī*, and *Mahānāma* a *ṭīkā* entitled *Madhusārattadīpanī*.⁶ These works are mentioned without any date in the *Sāsana-vamsa*, which by the way, differing from the *Pitakatthaman*, gives *Ānanda* as the author of the

¹ The 'Branginoco' of the Portuguese. We have not only Oriental but European testimony to the magnificence of his reign.

² See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 108 ff.

³ *Sās.*, p. 51

⁴ *Nāṇavilāsa* wrote the *Sanḥyāpakasaka* at Ayuddha, P.T.H., p. 61

⁵ A work consulted by Minayeff and mentioned in his *Recherches*. As Dr. Barnett has pointed out to me, from this title (*Sanskrit Uppātasanti*) the work would appear to treat of rites or charms for averting evil omens or public calamities. For *śānti*, in the sense of expiatory rite, see *Sadvimśa-brāhmaṇa* (Prap. v), edited by H. F. Eousingh, London, 1908, of p. 51 below and Appendix.

⁶ *Sās.*, p. 48 P.T.H., pp. 40, 41. In the latest edition (by Hsaya Ū Hpye, Rangoon, 1908) the author's name appears as *Mahānāma*.

last-named, a *ṭikā* on the *Abhidhamma*. The *Piṭakatthamaṇi* places both in the reign of Bayin Naung.

The Order never again suffered from a ruler in Burma as in the evil days under Thohanbā. From the time when the Shān rule was finally demolished by Burmese kings, more favourable days began for religion. The seventeenth century saw some further changes, which we shall note as we proceed; a religious literature in the vernacular, in the Burmese language itself, grew up round the older texts, but the earlier traditions of Pali scholarship always found faithful followers.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—PEGU AND UPPER BURMA— THE SCHOLARS OF AVA AND SAGAING—TĪPĪṬAKĀLAMKĀRA, ARĪYĀLAMKĀRA, AND OTHERS

By the year 1617 Burma and Pegu, welded into one empire by Bayin Naung's conquests, had already been separated once and forced into a second union by the conqueror's grandson Mahādhammarāja.¹

Pegu city (Hamsavatī), as in Bayin Naung's time, was the capital, and we can understand the Burmese king's popularity in the south when we learn (but not from the *Sūsanavamsa*) that he had succeeded in breaking up the audacious rule of the Portuguese adventurer Philip de Brito, whose government of Pegu had been carried on with the methods of a brutal buccaneer. De Brito, with wanton disrespect for the country's religion, had destroyed pagodas, and we cannot suppose that he spared monasteries or libraries. We do not know if even the Buddhist monks interceded for him when he was vanquished by their champion, taken prisoner and condemned to an agonizing death.

There is no record in the *Sūsanavamsa* of Pali works produced in this reign. The doings, literary or otherwise, of the Sangha of Pegu are probably not well known to the author of our Burmese chronicle. Perhaps, too, he is influenced by a certain rivalry in scholarship which made the Talaing monks unwilling to believe in the learning of Burma, while those of the upper country were equally sure of their own superiority.²

It is almost touching to read in the *Sūsanavamsa* the reason (as it first appeared to the good monks of the south) why the kings of Bayin Naung's dynasty preferred Pegu as the royal residence, even after union with Burma. 'As for the monks in Burma, there are none expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasattvas. Therefore, hearing this, the

¹ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 129.

² *Saa*, p. 106.

King¹ sent a message to the thera dwelling at the Four-storied Vihara,² saying "Send hither to Rāmañña some Mendicants, from thirty to forty years of age, expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas." So the thera sent Tipitakalaṃkāra, Tilokalaṃkāra, and Tisāsanaḷaṃkāra, with thirty Bhikkhus. When they arrived at Pegu the King built a *vāḍḍa* for them on the Eastern side of the Mōdho *cetiya*, and gave it to them. And on *Upasatha* days he summoned those monks of Rāmañña who were expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas, and commanded them to hold a discussion with the three theras. And the monks of Rāmañña said "Formerly indeed, we thought there were no monks in Burma expert in the sacred texts and learned in the Vedasatthas. But lo! these Burmese monks are exceedingly expert and learned." It seems to have been a triumph for Burma.

An interesting point in the little story is the mention of the Vedasāstras side by side with the Buddhist sacred texts. It is clear, from the list of works given to the libraries of Burmese monasteries³ and from various allusions in the Pali literature, that Brahmanic works were studied in the *vāḍḍas*, and we know that some were translated into Burmese. But this branch of learning was considered inferior. There is a mention in the *Sāsanaṇavaṃsa* of two monks living in the reign of Mahā dhammarāja⁴ who gained the king's favour by their aptitude for state affairs. They were *vedasatthakovidā* too—expert in the Vedasatthas—and therefore, no doubt, acute and useful advisers; but the Order disapproved of them. They are *pariyatīpaṭipattissu maṇḍā*—weak in the sacred doctrine and practice. They journey to Pegu and disappear at once from our sight. They have no place in the 'succession of theras'.

But the Vedasattha experts were probably innocent enough of any religious interest in the hymns and sacrifices of the Brahmanic cult, and they were certainly not Vedic scholars

¹ Ukkamaṃka, otherwise Thadodhammarāja, succeeded Mahādhammarāja 1629 A.D.

² A royal foundation at Sagaing on the Irrawaddy

³ See Appendix.

⁴ Came to the throne A.D. 1605.

in the Indian pandit's sense of the words; for the Vedas of the Burmese, as Forchhammer explains, are a collection of Brahmanic texts on astrology, medicine, and 'science' generally, such as the *Sūryasiddhānta* (astronomy), *Laghugraha* (astrology), *Dravyaguṇa* (medicine), besides *Tantrasāstras* (manuals of magic) and *Kāmasāstras* (manuals treating of love).¹ Some of these, especially the last, cannot by the greatest stretch of liberality be fitted into any scheme of monastic learning, and, indeed, we do not hear that the Buddhist monks ever made use of them or the Brahmanic texts composed for the practice of magic. That, in all its branches, was the province of the professional Brahmins, of whom there were always some, said to be experts in the Atharvaveda, in the service of the king.² But there are works reckoned as Vedasatthas in which the monks found food for study, and 'Veda' subjects which they themselves delighted to handle, either in Pali or the vernacular. For a king's *decuria* must be able to discourse on ethics and polity, pronounce moral maxims, and give advice. The *Rajanīti*, *Lokaṇīti*, and *Dhammanīti* represent this sort of literature³ modelled on Sanskrit originals. The wise fables of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa* have also found favour with Buddhists. Again, certain Sanskrit grammatical works became famous in Further India, and lexicons such as the *Amarakośa*. We have seen how stoutly the themas grappled with Pali grammar, and we can imagine the sober joy with which a copy of the *Amarakośa*⁴ would be welcomed in a *vihāra* library.

¹ See Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introduction by E. Forchhammer, p. 17. Also Forchhammer *Report* (1879-80), pp. 8 ff.

² For instance, when Anorata was baffled in his attempt to take Thabon, the charm which rendered the city impregnable was found out by the king's attendant Brahmins.

³ See James Gray, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims: The Nīti Literature of Burma*, pp. 119, 141, and R. C. Temple, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlvii (1898), pp. 239 ff.

⁴ On the famous dictionary of Amarasimha see Zacharias, *Die indischen Wörterbücher*. 'Amara,' says Zacharias, 'war ohne Zweifel ein Buddhist,' though this can be inferred only from his dedication and his placing of the names of Buddhas before the Brahmanic divinities, and not from any specially Buddhistic matter in the rest of the work, v. *Die indischen Wörterbücher*, Grundriss, Band 1, Heft 122, p. 18. The *Pitakathamain* (p. 73) is cautious on the subject, and only states that the *Amarakośa* was composed at Benares by Amarasimha.

We shall have to return presently to the question of the Brahmanic element in Buddhist Law.¹ As for other Brahmanic contributions to the literature of Burma, they were naturally accepted by the fathers of Burmese scholarship, as there could be no reason for cultivating Buddhist medicine or Buddhist arithmetic. As far as we know at present the fathers were sage enough not to study the gems of Sanskrit poetry.

Let us now glance at certain features in the seventeenth century literature, features which may be traced clearly enough for our purpose in a brief notice of the best-known authors.

First, we find that many of the distinguished teachers of that time wrote in both Pali and Burmese. Some, for instance, Varahsamphanātha, author of the *Manikūṇḍalavattu*, and one of his contemporaries, author of the *Sattarājadharmavattu*, wrote their edifying tales only in the vernacular, or at least produced nothing noteworthy in Pali.² Secondly, the devotion of the Burmese scholars to the study of Pali grammar, style, and prosody bore fruit in works of which the *Rājandarājābhūḍheyādīpanī* is an instance. It would not be quite fair to call any theras a court poet, but on certain occasions theras composed Pali verses adorned with the traditional compliment and eulogy of royal patrons. Thus, when Ukkamaika was consecrated and took the title *Sirisaudhammarājaraḍḍhipati*, the theras Ratanākara wrote the *Rājandarājābhūḍheyādīpanī* (on the naming of kings) to commemorate the ceremony.³

Mahādhammarāja and *Ukkamaika* were both generous to the Order, and mention of monasteries founded by them occurs often in the religious history of the seventeenth century. Some of these foundations were associated with well-known

¹ Vide J. Jardine and Forchhammer, *Notes on Buddhist Law*, also Introductory Remarks, Notes, pt. II, p. 12, for the supposed prevalence of Sanskrit learning in the courts of the early kings of Prome and Pagan.

² Saa., p. 105. These authors belong to the time of *Mahādhammarāja*, 1606-29.

³ Saa., p. 102, PTH., p. 68. Ratanākara was acquainted with Sanskrit rhetoric and poetica.

and venerable names, such as Tipitakālamkāra, Ariyālamkāra, his pupil Ariyālamkāra the younger, and Aggadhammālamkāra, who were among the deepest students of their time. The Sāsana-vamsa mentions Tipitakālamkāra and the elder Ariyālamkāra together as equally great examples of learning. Tipitakālamkāra was a man of wide erudition, says the chronicle, but Ariyālamkāra excelled in *dhātupaccaya-vibhāga*, in other words, was an accomplished grammarian.¹

Tipitakālamkāra was born in 1578 A.D., and went, while still a boy, to Prome. He entered the Order at the age of thirteen, and his literary career soon began. He studied with passionate zeal, and we next hear that the fifteen-year-old novice has composed in Pali a poetical version of the Vessantara-jātaka,² that the Burmese love most to hear, the tale of the Bodhisat's last birth as a man and his supreme acts of merit.

Tipitakālamkāra received the *upatampadā* ordination³ in his twentieth year. His studious life underwent a great change when Prome, then an almost independent State, fell into the hands of Surakitti,⁴ King of Burma. Tipitakālamkāra was invited or compelled to come to the capital, and on the banks of the Irrawaddy near Ava the king built a *vihāra* for him. Afterwards, weary perhaps of royal *vihāras*, Tipitakālamkāra withdrew to the Tiriyapabbata to live in the quiet of the forest. However, in 1602 we again hear that he is in residence in a monastery built by the king,⁴ and is famed far and wide for his learning and piety.

While living at the Four-storied Vihara built by Surakitti, Tipitakālamkāra, given up to Abhidhamma studies, wrote a commentary on the introductory verses of the Atthasālinī. Later, at the request of Nyaung Ram Min, he composed a lighter work, the Yasavaddhanavatthu. When in retreat in the quiet of the Tiriyapabbata he had some occasion to

¹ Sās., p. 106.

² Sās., p. 105, see Fausbøll's edition of the Jātaka, vol. vi, pp. 479 ff.

³ Eldest son of Bayin Naung.

⁴ Nyaung Ram Min (1599-1605), son of Bayin Naung. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 286, Pitakatthaman, p. 42.

take up Vinaya questions, and the result was the Vinayālamkāraṭīkā, one of those numerous works composed by theras of high authority to keep the old traditional 'discipline' pure.

The list of Tipiṭakālaṃkāra's works shows varied learning, but he is remembered chiefly as an Abhidhamma scholar and a saint. He was a chosen adviser of Ukkamsaka, and one of his works is called 'Responses' to the king's questions.¹

The theras of Sagaung at this period seem to have taken the lead in Abhidhamma studies. One of these, the thera Tilokaguru, toiled for many years at ṭīkā and supplementary ṭīkā (anuttīkā) on various texts. After dealing very thoroughly with the Dhātukathā² he composed a ṭīkā on the Yamaka. But his great feat was a ṭīkā on the Paṭṭhana, the most important book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.³

Tilokaguru is but one example. The Sagaung monasteries also produced a number of Burmese *uṣṣaya* (interpretations or paraphrases) on Abhidhamma texts during the seventeenth century. But it is not easy to distribute these works aright among their several authors, whose Pali names are but an indifferent help to accuracy. There were at least four Ariyalāmkāras noted for scholarship. The monk mentioned in the Sāsanaṇama as the second Ariyalāmkāra (pupil of the great thera who was 'equal to Tipiṭakālaṃkāra') is probably the scholar of whom Oldenberg remarks that the Burmese are indebted to him for the version of a great number of Pali works. Those ascribed to this Ariyalāmkāra are: (1) Interpretations of the Atthasālinī of Buddhaghosa, the Sankhepavaṇṇanā of Saddhammajōtipāla,⁴ the Abhidhammatthavibhavaṇī of Suman-

¹ See *Bulletin*, tome v, p. 167.

² See the *Piṭakatthamaṇḍap*, p. 41.

³ The most important, that is, if we place ourselves at the point of view of the Burmese Abhidhamma students of that day. Mrs. Rhys Davids, to whose rare ability and patience we owe a scholarly edition of a part of this text, remarks, 'the aim of the work seems to have been more a series of exercises in a logic of terms and relations than any attempt to enunciate metaphysical propositions' (see Introduction to the *Dukapaṭṭhana*, edited for the Pali Text Society by Caroline F. Rhys Davids, pp. x-xiv). The *Paṭṭhana* is also called the *Mahāpakaraṇa* (Great Treatise). It consists of twenty-four sections, and in manuscript amounts to over a thousand leaves. See Forchhammer's *Leit*, p. xv.

⁴ See above, p. 18, Chap. II.

gala,¹ and the Vibhaṅga of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.² (2) A Pali *ṭikā* on the Kaccayanabheda, entitled *Sāratthavikāsinī*. (3) Ariyalamkāra was careful to add a Burmese version to what we should nowadays call his revised edition of Kaccayana's grammar.

This work was done mostly in the Dakkhinavāna *cūḍāra*, or Monastery of the Southern Grove, near the Rājamañicūla *cetiya* at Sagaing. Ukkamaika had built four monasteries, one on each side of his famous pagoda,³ and presented them to theas learned in the sacred texts. Another grammarian in residence on the west side produced an edition of the Nyāsa,⁴ 'adorned' (as the Pali phrase goes), and set forth with various methods of explanation.⁵

The Nyāsa was taken up again in the reign of Sirinandadhammarāja - Pavarādhīpatirāja (A.D. 1648) by the king's preceptor, Dathanāga of Sagaing. His commentary is entitled *Nirutti-sāramasījosa*.⁶

We here come across a mention of Pagan, once the flourishing centre of grammatical studies. The thea Jambudhaja (or Jambudīpadhaja, as the king named him) was one whom Ukkamaika had delighted to honour. He was of Pagan, and was first brought to the king's notice by Tipiṭakālamkāra.⁷ The works ascribed to him are *Samvayyanānāyadīpanī*, *Nirutti-saṅgraha* (grammar), and *Sarvajñānyāyadīpanī* (grammar and philology).⁸ Jambudhaja, author of the little grammatical

¹ See Oldenberg's *Catalogue of Pali MSS. at the India Office*, pp. 81, 82, 84, 85, 88-90, 123, 124. *Sumaṅgala* is also known as *Sumaṅgalasāmi* and his work as the *Tikā-kyaw*.

² The *Vibhaṅga* is second in order of the seven Abhidhamma books. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that it may be considered a sequel of the *Dhammasaṅgani*, and was probably used, like the latter, as a manual for study. For other remarks on these studies see the valuable introduction to the Pali Text Society's edition of the *Vibhaṅga* (ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids), 1904.

³ The Raung-mbu-daw pagoda, 5 miles from Sagaing.

⁴ See above, p. 21.

⁵ Saa, pp. 106, 110, *Piṭakatthamañ*, p. 124.

⁶ See p. 111, SVD, verse 1241, *Piṭakatthamañ*, p. 65. A work with a nearly similar title (*Nirutti-saṅgraha*), mentioned in the *Gandhavarasā* (pp. 60 and 70), is a *ṭikā* on the *Cullavuttu* of Kaccayana.

⁷ Saa, pp. 115, 116.

⁸ These works are mentioned by Nevill, who saw them in Ceylon. He dates them 1652 A.D.

treatise called *Rūpabhedapakāsaṇī*, is probably the same *Jambudīpadhaja*.¹

The *Abhidhamma* seems to have had less attraction for him than for most of his noted contemporaries, and he devoted himself to the *Vinaya*, of which he translated text and commentary into Burmese. But Maṇiratana, a writer of the same period, is an example of a life spent in interpreting the abstruser side of sacred learning to those who were only capable of reading the vernacular. The *Susanavamsa* mentions translations by him of the following works—the *Atthasālinī* and *Sammohavinodanī* (Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the *Dhammasaṅgani* and the *Vibhanga*, and the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī* (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Paṭimokkha* of the *Vinaya*); this last seems to have been Maṇiratana's only departure from metaphysical studies. Then, turning to the later exponents of the *Abhidhamma*, he translated the *ṭīkā* *Abhidhammatthavibhāvaṇī* and *Saṅkhepavannanā* into Burmese.

Another there, *Saradassi*, of the same place (*Nayyinyun*, in the *Ava* district), was the author of some works equally characteristic of the time. His *Gulhatthadīpanī* (explaining difficult passages in the seven books of the *Abhidhamma*)² and the *Visuddhimaggagaṇṭhipadattha*, a book of the same nature on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, are in Pali. He also translated the *Nettipakarana* into Burmese, not to shirk his part in opening up the Pali texts to readers without learning. If he is a little less shadowy to us than some of his fellow-authors it is because, with all his grasp of abstruse questions, he had, for a time at least, leanings that greatly displeased the stricter brethren. He lived in the village itself, and indulged in luxuries such as a head-covering and a fan. But we are told that he afterwards renounced all those practices 'contrary to the discipline' and went into retreat in the forest.

The middle and latter part of the seventeenth century were not peaceful times for Burma. The country was harassed by Chinese raiders, rumours and evil omens troubled the people,

¹ Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50.

² *Sāc.*, p. 115, see Forchhammer's *Leet.* p. xxvi, and Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 35, *Paṭakathamaṇi*, pp. 38, 40.

the tutelary *devatā* of the towns were said to be departing, and 'religion was dimmed'. Great efforts were made to conjure these and other ills by the practice of religion, the local gods were conciliated with offerings, and 'merit', in the Buddhist sense, was acquired by new religious foundations. When Mahāpavaradhammarājaloḥḍhipati came to the throne in 1651 he built some monasteries, according to the custom of his predecessors, and presented them to distinguished theras. The most eminent among these was the Aggadhammā-lampkāra, already mentioned, who translated several Pali texts into the vernacular.

He first paid the usual homage to Kaocāyana, but by writing a Burmese translation instead of a Pali commentary; afterwards he translated the Abhidhammatthasangaha, and then, as if continually seeking heavier and heavier tasks, the patient scholar toiled through translations of the Māṅkū (of the Dhammasangani), the Dhātukathā, the Yamaka, and the Paṭṭhāna.¹ The last task alone would have served a less diligent man for a lifetime, but Aggadhammālampkāra probably had earnest students to satisfy. There is no doubt about his real devotion to his subject.

This prodigious worker was not entirely given up to the sacred texts. Circumstances made him a court historian. He came of a family of officials, and no doubt was better fitted than most Palists of his day to carry out certain royal commissions. The last of his works that we find mentioned in the Sāsana-vamāsa is a Rājavanāsasankhepa, a summary of the official Rajavanāsa, or a short chronicle of the kings. This he undertook at the request of his protector, Mahāpavaradhammarājaloḥḍhipati.²

Under the auspices of the next king, Naravara,³ the thera Tejodīpa, disciple of Tilokaguru, composed a ṭīkā on the Paritta.⁴ It is the only literary event noticed by the Sāsana-vamāsa in this reign, which, in fact, only lasted a few months. Under Naravara's successor Siripavaramahādhammarājā⁵ a thera named Devacakkobhassa comes upon the scene, whose

¹ Sās., p. 111.

² Mahāsāsasāradhammarāja.

³ Sās., p. 112, Pitakatthaman., p. 220.

⁴ Sās., p. 116.

⁵ A.D. 1672.

influence with the king was evidently great, for the usual reason—he was learned in the Vedasatthas. The usual mild reproach follows—he was 'weak' in the knowledge of the sacred texts.¹ Nevertheless, his system of Abhidhamma teaching was recommended to the Order by the king. Deva-cakkobhassa made his pupils study and recite the Paṭṭhāna (we suppose in Pali). Not only the monks of Burma but those of Pegu were made to study the Paṭṭhāna. By the king's order great religious festivals were held, and the people were called upon to honour the Order in every way.

We have now reached the year 1698, and can pause to glance at those features of the Pali-Burmese literature which have come into clear relief during the seventeenth century.

Our attention is arrested by a new tendency. The zeal for Pali grammar seems to be fainter than in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a more abstract study, the Abhidhamma, is occupying the learned among the monks, or at least those of whom we hear, those whom we may call the official scholars, the *theras* who have the title *raṭṭaguru* (king's preceptor) and work in monasteries endowed by the kings. We do not know much of the lives of these teachers, but their choice of subjects throws a certain light on what was demanded of them, even by the less learned among their students, or, at least, what they, the most influential scholars of their time, insisted that their students should attempt. We have seen how the several books of the Abhidhamma were interpreted and paraphrased in Burmese during the seventeenth century, and we cannot doubt that the disciples living near their venerable masters in the monasteries by the Irrawaddy persevered in studying the third Piṭaka. And that tradition of the seventeenth century has come down to later generations, as the most casual survey of modern Burmese literature will show.

Everyone who has seen a collection of Buddhist manuscripts from Burma must have noticed the numerous copies of

¹ Sas., p. 117. The Śāśanavamsa tells us by the way that the well-known Burmese method of preparing and decorating palm-leaf MSS. was first put into practice in this reign. See Symes, *Account of an Embassy to the kingdom of Ava*, p. 339.

Abhidhamma texts with vernacular interpretations. The descriptions we read of Burmese life and character might lead us to expect a preference for something less arid, more picturesque, more human, more adapted to the native genius. But there is not really an anomaly here. In this particular case the Burmese remember what was said in old days about the *Buddhacacanam*, the word of the Buddha.

The classic fifth century commentaries, for instance the *Atthasālinī*,¹ make an interesting distinction between the three great divisions of the *Buddhacacanam*—the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma. The Vinaya, they say, contains the teaching of rules of conduct, prohibitions, and prescriptions (*anādesand*), the Sutta that of the current practice or experience of men (*cōhāradesand*), the Abhidhamma that of the highest or absolute truth (*paramatthadesand*).

Let us see how these three collections have fared in Burmese Buddhism.

The Pali Vinaya took root quickly and profoundly in Burma. All students of the subject are agreed on the constancy with which later Vinaya literature reflects the ancient form and spirit. Buddhism has a lengthy and minute code for the Mendicant Order. That code has been prodigiously commented and glossed in the course of centuries, but the novice learns the discipline from his preceptor in the monastery by example and habit, rather than from books and by everyday practice the observance of the rules becomes second nature without much mental effort. Of course, some book-study is required, but the essential knowledge is easy for the young monk to master even in Pali. And then there is that old and kindly institution 'The Smaller Vinayas',² containing the essential precepts and formulas of the Discipline.

Controversial works have been written from time to time on matters of discipline, but to know them is not a fundamental part of Vinaya study. Occasionally disputes on questions of discipline arose in the Burmese Sangha at times when the word

¹ a. *Atthasālinī*, E. Müller's edition (Pali Text Society), p. 21.

² See above, p. 6, Chap. I.

of the Buddha was, it seems, not very well known to most of the monks; and we read that the king intervened in such cases to command research in the ancient texts, or appoint teachers whose decision was to be final. The king's privilege, however, was particular, the attitude of the Burmese laity in general towards the Order and its discipline has been one of unquestioning reverence. The Vinaya itself, being a code of prohibitions concerning the monastic life, has not of course had a great influence on culture. Not that it has remained altogether without its bearing on the lay life, for there is a Vinaya element in the Burmese law codes. This we might expect, as religion and law are inseparable in Oriental polity. But when we look for the influence of Pali literature on Burmese culture it is in the Sutta that we find it.

Through the immense variety of discourses, verses, and legends that make up the Sutta piṭaka the path of the saint is traced for us in every stage, from the first moment of religious effort to the summit of achievement—arabhatship. And the Sutta piṭaka has abundance of human nature in it. So in widening and widening circles it has sent a moral impulse through the life of the whole Burmese people. To give two instances the Paritta¹ is a common treasury of good words to ward off the evils of everyday life and keep the great maxims of religion in memory, and the Jataka has found its way everywhere, from law codes and chronicles to popular plays. The Burmese child grows up steeped in beliefs, practices, and notions of 'merit' and 'demerit' drawn from the Sutta. He has nothing new to learn about this part of his faith when he forsakes the world and enters on the monastic life. What the earnest novice from generation to generation has set himself to study in the calm of the *vihāra* is the *paramatthadhamma*, 'the highest' of the Master's teaching, the Abhidhamma.

If the Burmese student is cheerfully at home in the Sutta he approaches the Abhidhamma with awed respect, like his brother Buddhist in Siam and Cambodia. The Buddhist of

¹ See above, p. 3, Chap. I.

Indo-China is by no means enamoured, as the Indian Buddhists were, of speculation for its own sake. He reads in Buddhaghosa that there is an exalted religious joy to be found in only considering the vastness of the Paṭṭhana. The mind of the believer, launched upon that ocean, may allow itself to be rocked to a contemplative calm. The virtue of this passive reception of the *buddhavarana* can never have been doubted in ease-loving Burma. The Burmese 'Abhidhammikā' Buddhists had little in common with the keen disputants of the north who thought in Sanskrit, and from whom sprang the great champions of the Mahāyana system—Āśvaghoṣa, Asaṅga, and Śāntideva.

The greater number of Burmese students of metaphysics have depended from early times on compendiums and manuals. The most successful of these, after the canonical Dhammasaṅgani,¹ has been the twelfth-century textbook Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha.² This little treatise is a summary of Buddhist theories on mental processes, on existence and annihilation. It is a mass of technical terms needing an extensive commentary. Commentators, of course, were forthcoming. The Sinhalese theras Vimalabuddhi and Sumaṅgala both composed *ṭīkas*, and the second, the Abhidhammatthavibhavaṇi, is part of the usual course of (Abhidhamma) study in Burma.³ Two ancient and authoritative treatises from Ceylon, the Abhidhammavāṭāna⁴ by Buddhadatta and the Saccasamkhepa⁵ by Culladhammapāla, were studied more in the early period of Burmese scholarship than in later times.

Probably no Pāli work on the Abhidhamma has been more often translated and paraphrased than the Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha, of which the Piṭakatthamain alone mentions twenty-three different Burmese *maṣayas*. All the most noted theras

¹ Edited in JPTS, 1884, with introduction by Rhys Davida. See Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 38, 46, 48, Forchhammer, *List.*, p. xvii.

² Edited by E. Müller, trans. by C. A. F. Rhys Davida.

³ See Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 38, 48, Forchhammer, *List.*, p. xvii; Gandhavarapa, pp. 62, 72.

⁴ See Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.* pp. 35, 37, Forchhammer, *List.*, p. xvii, GV, pp. 59, 62, 69, Sās., p. 34.

⁵ See Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 35-7, Forchhammer, *List.*, p. xvii, GV, pp. 60, 70; Sās., p. 34.

of the seventeenth century took it in hand, and it has been carefully edited by modern *h-ayās*. A cross analysis of the principal translations of this single little text would be an explanation, incomplete of course, but very interesting and instructive, of the true Burmese view of Abhidhamma theories, such as we find in the *Dhammasaṅgani*, also a manual,¹ and we must not forget that these theories are as much a part of the Buddhism of Burma as the human and touching spirit of the Sutta.

Some curious elements have straggled in under the accommodating title *Paramattha*, and sometimes in research we may think we have come on a metaphysical dissertation and find a guide to Buddhist cosmogony.² Such productions, however, are not characteristic enough of the Pali literature to need more than a mention.³

To return to the seventeenth century. We have seen that some of the most eminent scholars spent their time making Burmese versions of Pali texts. Either there was a much wider public, as we should now say, for religious works at that period than in earlier times, or Pali scholarship was at a low ebb in the Order. There is some ground for this last supposition. Burma had been in an almost continual state of change and disturbance since the Shān element had become first troublesome and then powerful; and Lower Burma, annexed, separated, and annexed again, suffered no less.

It would be interesting to know something about the numerical strength of the Order at different times during that period. It probably diminished greatly when even monasteries

¹ See the learned introduction of Mrs. Rhys Davids to her translation of the *Dhammasaṅgani*.

² An example is the Pali-Burmese *Paramatthamanjusa*, described by M. l'Abbé Chevillon in the list of Burmese MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³ I do not mean to imply that these matters are included in Abhidhamma literature without an antique and scriptural warrant for their presence. Mrs. Rhys Davids has pointed out that the last book of the *Vibhaṅga*, 'suggesting by its fine title, the Heart of the Dhamma, more than it contains, gives a number of summaries and a good deal of affirmation, much of it mythological, about the conditions of life in this and other spheres—in human beings and other beings' (Introduction to the *Vibhaṅga*, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, p. xix).

were insecure, and the young men of the population were more likely to be fighting than forsaking the world.¹ Those were not times for study to prosper. And, as the *Sāsanavamsa* says, 'religion was dimmed' from time to time. But the Burmese kings were sufficiently good Buddhists to build *vihāras* and encourage learning, and the great theras were undefatigable workers. It is told of Tipitakūlāmkāra that he once said in jest to Aggadhammāmkāra, 'When I am dead you will be the only learned man left in the world.' And perhaps the scholarly tradition did at one time seem likely to perish out of Burma. But there were always workers to keep it alive, some of whom we shall only find in the local chronicles (*thamain*) of temples and *vihāras*, and in the eighteenth century, when another national crisis had come and passed, a literary revival began under Alaungpayā and his descendants.

¹ In Ukkamsika's reign a very curious situation was brought about. The king, who had fled from the capital in consequence of a conspiracy headed by one of his sons, took refuge in a monastery, where the Bhikkhus formed themselves into an armed guard to protect him. See *S&S*, p. 108.

CHAPTER V

PALI LITERATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—THE
PĀMUPANA-EKAMSIKA CONTROVERSY—FOUNDATION OF
AMARAPURA—BODĀPAYĀ'S EULOGIST—THE RĀJĀDHI-
RĀJAVILĀSINĪ—THE JĀTAKA IN BURMA

As the eighteenth century opens, the religious life of the country seems to have passed under a cloud, and we may be fairly certain that there was no intellectual advance in the Order. Perhaps there was even some reaction, if we can judge from the uninteresting controversy that drags through nearly a hundred years in the chronicle.¹

Even without studying in detail the literature of the time, we notice the absence of work such as *Tipitakūlaṃkāra*, *Arīyā-ṭaṃkāra*, and *Aggadhammāṭṭakāra* had produced in Upper Burma. In Rāmañña the Order lacked support. Since the removal of the capital to Ava in 1634 the south had gradually sunk into misery and ruin.² Towards the middle of the century, as we shall see, a revolt against Burma was successful for a time, but the final result was that a later conqueror, Alaungpayā, broke down the Talaing nationality completely and finally. Thus, though Alaungpayā was really a better Buddhist than his milder predecessors, the fortune of war went against scholarship in the ancient home of Buddhism from the end of the seventeenth century till the time when the Burmese conqueror's power was firmly established.

And at the moment when, leaving the seventeenth century, we have our next glimpse of literary history, there was not only a state of gloom and listlessness in Pegu but in Burma also. The country was no longer ruled by kings of the energetic and aggressive type,³ who were usually active benefactors of religion and therefore of Pali literature.

¹ See Sās., pp. 118 ff., and Introduction, p. 37.

² See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 141, 142.

³ Phayre says of this period, 'Though the monarchy suffered no great disaster its powers gradually declined.' The raids of the Chinese in the previous century had been followed by an invasion from Manipur, and some territory in the north was lost (Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 140 ff.).

If we turn to the *Sāsana-vamsa*, we come straightway upon a picture already familiar. The long, inglorious reign of Hsin-hpyu-shin¹ (in Pali, *Setibhinda*) has begun; the inner history of the Order seems to be quietly repeating itself. In a monastery at Ava, built by a high military official, the learned monk Ukkamsamāla is finishing the second of his treatises *Vaṇṇabodhana* and *Lakkhaṇanaya*² (dealing, as the titles show, with the Pali language). The chronicle says of him that he was versed in the texts, the commentaries, the *ṭīkā*s, and the 'other books' (*gandhanāṇḍa*), by which is meant works not strictly doctrinal but necessary to a complete Buddhist education.³

Ukkamsamāla, fortunately for him, was peacefully occupied with words and not with practices, but we cannot separate the history of Pali literature in the eighteenth century from a controversy which went on, with only a few intervals of forced truce, for nearly a century between the sects known as the *Pārūpanas* and *Ekamsikas*. Their differences were on matters of monastic discipline, but certainly affected studies.

The *Sāsana-vamsa*, in which we find a fairly full account,⁴ tells us that a monk named *Gupābhilaṃkara* in or about the year 1698 A.D. introduced, and the followers who gathered round him quickly adopted, the custom of wearing the mendicant's upper robe over one shoulder only, leaving the other bare. But, according to the rules for dress laid down in the Pali *Vinaya*, both shoulders should be draped, except when the right was uncovered as a mark of respect in addressing a superior; and here at once was a doubtful and ostentatious change which put the simpler, old-school *Parūpanas* (or 'clothed' sect as they were named) up in arms. This was not all. The *Ekamsika* ('one-shoulder') party carried fans when making their begging-rounds in the

¹ A.D. 1714-33 (*Phayre, History of Burma*, p. 266). In *Sāa*, 1074 *Kaliyuga* (= 1712 A.D.).

² *Sāa*, p. 150.

³ e.g., the *Pitakattthamain* (p. 52) gives under the heading *gandhanāṇḍa* the *Mahāvamsa*, *Dīpavamsa*, and their *ṭīkā*s.

⁴ *Sāa*, pp. 117 ff.

villages. These and one or two other innovations, which may seem to outsiders a small matter, roused very strong feeling in the Order.

Guṇabhīṣamkara and his following were not considered strong in the sacred texts, and their opponents of the strict school defied them to bring forward a canonical text, commentary, or *ṭīkā* that authorized their practices. Here was their difficulty, and the *Sāsanavamsa* assures us that they were put to the miserable expedient of producing a work forged for them by a 'lay disciple of immoral life who had quitted the Order'.¹ They maintained that they held the views of the orthodox theras *Saddhammacari* of Ceylon. The severe language of the *Sāsanavamsa* would lead us to think that some moral laxity, unworthy of true 'sons of the Sakya',² went with these affectations of dress and habits in the new party. At all events, the question whether any given monk was a *Pārupana* or *Ekamekka* was, for long years, the one by which his fellow-monks would judge him. It is interesting to see the part played by the temporal power in all this. The hierarchy of the Buddhist Church was not so firmly established that the *Saṅgharājā* or Supreme Head could impose his will on the fraternity without the king's support, and we shall see that when the struggle became very acute the sect that was losing ground usually tried to bring the matter directly before the king.

In 1733 *Mahārājādhipati* came to the throne.³ He was an ineffectual king and, as events showed, a very poor arbiter in religious matters. The *Sāsanavamsa* records only one of his acts with approval, this was the appointing of the *thera Nāṇavara* as his *deciya* (tutor or, more exactly, spiritual adviser). *Nāṇavara* was originally of Pagan. When he came to the capital he threw himself zealously into the work of teaching, and the first of his works mentioned in the chronicle⁴ was composed for the benefit of his many hearers.

¹ *Sās.* p. 119.

² A stock phrase of the ancient *Vinaya*, where unseemly conduct of monks and novices is described as *asakyaṇṭhiya*.

³ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 140. *Sās.*, 1095 K.T.

⁴ *Sās.*, p. 121.

Mindful of their difficulties in the study of the Abhidhammatthasangaha, probably then, as later, the text most in use, he prepared a *ganthipadattha* or gloss on the difficult words in that famous work. Nāṇavara then glossed the ancient commentary Atthasālinī (of Buddhaghosa) in the same way. He also composed a work entitled *Surāvinicchaya*, a name suggesting Vinaya rather than Abhidhamma; and another work for Vinaya students entitled *Paṭimokkhaekkhana*.² Afterwards, at the king's request, as we are told, the *ācariya* continued the work his predecessors had begun in the seventeenth century, and translated the *Adh.dhanappadīpikā*³ into the vernacular. His contemporary Saradaśi, also of Pagan, is mentioned as the author of a *Dhātukathayojana*,⁴ either a grammatical commentary or a translation of the *Dhātukathā* of the Abhidhammapitaka.

Nāṇavara's next work, the *Rājādhirajanāmattappakāśinī*, seems to have been written not so much to instruct the unlearned as to please a royal patron. Its subject, 'the naming of kings,' with the reigning king's name as an example, was not important to the students in the monasteries. The purpose of the book was served, so far as we can see, when it had shown Nāṇavara's scholarship and interested Mahārājadhīpati himself. There is a sort of unconscious irony in the thera's essay when we see, as the gentle monk did not see, the approaching fate of the 'Lord of Kings', and know how ill he succeeded not only as king but as supporter of the faith. A ruler of quite different mettle was needed even to deal with the affairs of the Sangha now in a state of acute disaccord. Mahārājadhīpati made mistake upon mistake. When his tutor Nāṇavara, who held to the Pārurapa practice, and the thera Pasamsa, of the Ekamsaka sect, were

² See above, p. 46, and Sāa, p. 81. The title is perplexing here, as it recalls Mahāparakkama's *Decisions concerning Intoxicants*, written at Taungu in the sixteenth century.

³ P.T.H., p. 43. The *Paṭimokkha*, it will be remembered, is the fundamental code of rules, the whole duty of the monastic life, in a concise form. The ceremony of the *uposatha* days is a solemn undertaking of this rule of life by the assembled Sangha.

⁴ See Oldenberg, *Pali MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 105.

⁵ P.T.H., p. 41.

engaged in vigorous controversy, the king set an incompetent monk, a favourite of his own, over both the learned doctors. This monk is described as ignorant and incapable, 'knowing only enough to turn a plough's head to the east or the west,' yet the king, as the chronicle says, 'not knowing that this man was thus and so,' trusted him to regulate all matters of religion. The favourite proved unable to judge which of the two opposed views was false and which was true. 'He was,' says the chronicler, growing more and more indignant, 'like a buffalo, who knows no difference between the music of a celestial lute played by a Gandharva' and the striking of a bamboo stick by a village lad.' The situation was beyond Mahārājadhīpat's own powers of arbitrating. He wished for peace, and sought for a compromise which might perchance last during his own lifetime. A royal decree was therefore issued, the substance of which was that every *dhikku* was to observe whatever practices he wished. Only one result could be expected. As the chronicler truly observes, 'their dispute did not subside then.'

But this was a time for graver preoccupations. The old discontent and hatred of Burma, that had been seething in Pegu for many years, had gradually mounted to the point of rebellion, while the Burmese were harassed by Manipuri invaders. In 1740 a king was elected in Pegu and the revolt became serious.¹ Prome was taken by the Talangs, and though their first king abdicated, another, Binya Dala, a brave soldier and able leader, was solemnly consecrated at Pegu city (Hamaṣavati) in 1746.

From this time till the end of the eventful campaign that followed there is no literary history to record. A life-and-death struggle had begun between Talang and Burman, and for some time the Order disappears from view in the people.

At first the Talangs were successful, and the Burmese lost

¹ The Gandharvas (Pali, Gandhabba) are demigods attendant on Dhātaraṭṭha, one of the four 'guardian gods' of the earth. The expression 'playing a lute near a buffalo' is quoted among the 'Burmese Proverbs, aphorisms, and quaint sayings' in Judson & Stevenson's excellent *Burmese Dictionary*, Appendix, p. 3.

² See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 142 ff.

their capital and their king. But the fall of Ava in 1752 was a turning-point. With the first attempt to exact general submission to the new rulers and payment of taxes there arose an obscure captain determined to resist, a man with indomitable faith in himself and his countrymen. This man was the future king of Burma, Alaungpayā

Our subject does not lead us far into the history of the national hero and his astonishing success, from the moment he collected his first little army till the day when, anointed king of Burma, he triumphantly gave his southern capital the name Rangoon (in commemoration of the war). Here we may be permitted to follow the *Sāsana-vamsa*, which sums up Alaungpayā's campaigns and victories in a few words of homely imagery. 'he drove the armies of the King of Pegu forth from Burma as one might a famished bird from a field of grain.'¹

For our chronicler the great feature of Alaungpayā's reign was the religious revival. Monks and laymen rejoiced in peace and safety under a king who was popularly believed to be the Bodhisat.² Alaungpayā was active in pious works, and determined that all his family, ministers, and nobles should follow his example. Great companies of the brethren were invited to the palace every *uposatha* day, and the members of the royal household had even opportunities for study. Whether zealous or not for Pali learning, they probably found it expedient to be studious.³

In this prosperous state of religion the Pārūpana-Ekappaika controversy revived, and the Ekappaika school now had a good chance of making their practice prevail in the whole community. For the king's *dearaya*, Atula Yasadhamma, whose influence with Alaungpayā was great, was opposed to the stricter sect. The *Sāsana-vamsa* assures us that Alaungpayā wished to go into the question thoroughly for himself, but, being too much absorbed in state affairs, he put off hearing

¹ *Sās.*, p. 123, these events came about in the year 1113 of the Kali-yuga (=1761 A.D.) and the two years following.

² A future Buddha.

³ Alaungpayā is remembered in the secular chronicles as a patron of literature. See J. Gray's *Dynasty of Alaungpaya*, p. 13.

the two parties till graver matters were dispatched. In the meantime he decreed that the whole Order should follow the ruling of his own *ācariya*.

This command put the Parupanas in a difficulty. They must either renounce what they held to be the only practice warranted by the scriptures or resist the king's authority. Most of them submitted, but a few stood firm. The most notable of the resisters was the thera Munindaghosa of Pagan,¹ who not only continued to observe the stricter rule but had a large following.

He is said to have declared in a full assembly of senior brethren that he was willing to die rather than forsake the precepts of his master. Alaungpayū was too much the Oriental despot to bear insubordination even from a *mahāthera*, and Munindaghosa was banished, as far as possible, from the region where his influence was felt. Quite undaunted he continued his teaching, and again a group of followers gathered round him. But in his banishment he was ready to turn from controversy and instruct his pupils in more abstract matters, for it was at this time that he translated the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* into Burmese. He seems to have gone on for awhile unmolested, but was afterwards summoned to Alaungpayū's presence to answer for his defiance, a summons which he obeyed with a full expectation of receiving the death sentence. So sure was he of the fate awaiting him that he put off his monastic habit before the encounter, with the magnanimous wish to lighten, in some sense, the guilt of the man who would shed his blood. The courageous monk's life was spared, but what happened to him we do not know. All that the chronicle adds to this strange incident is the fact that when Alaungpayū left for his last campaign in Siam Munindaghosa was in prison.

Alaungpayū never found the leisure from state affairs that would allow him to master Vinaya questions. Disease was already undermining his wonderful vigour when he reached his forty-sixth year, and his unsuccessful attempt to conquer Siam in 1760 was the last undertaking of his life. When the

¹ Sāa, p. 125.

Burmese army returned from the expedition they bore with them the dead body of their hero.

Alaungpayā was succeeded by his eldest son, Siripavaramahā-dhammarāja, who rebuilt Sagan² (Pali, Jeyyapura), while the old capital, Ava, was occupied by a rebel force. During this king's short reign an attempt was made by the Pārūpana sect to convince the king that right was on their side. They had hoped much from the fact that Nāṇa, or Nāṇālamkāra, the royal preceptor,³ was a Pārūpana. But the astute Atula⁴ was still leading the Ekamsika party, and his counter-tactics were successful enough to prevent unsettled points of discipline from being discussed before the king.

In the meantime Nāṇa, who seems to have had little taste for controversy, won a reputation for profound knowledge. We are told, as a testimony to his untiring diligence, that he was capable of mastering or teaching nine or ten chapters⁵ of Pali in a day. He had been a passionate student from his youth up. In the first year of his monastic life he composed a grammatical work called the Padavibhāga. It was followed by a series of commentaries, in Burmese, on the Nyāsa⁶ and two Abhidhamma texts, the Yamaka and Mahūpaṭṭhāna (or Paṭṭhāna).

In 1763 Naung-doa-gyi died and was succeeded by his brother, who is usually known as Hsin-hpyu-shan (Pali, Setabhinda).⁷ His accession gave promise of better times; among other

¹ Naung-doa-gyi, 1760-3. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 184. (Sās., the year 1122 E.T.)

² Sās., p. 127.

³ The king had brought this learned there from Taungdwin to the capital (Sās., p. 127).

⁴ Atula had been appointed Head of the Order by Alaungpayā. See 'A Preliminary Study of the Po: U: Daung Inscription', by Taw Sein Ko (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii, p. 8).

⁵ Literally, *dhāṇavara* section for recitation, see Sās., p. 127.

⁶ See above, pp. 20, 21.

⁷ Sās., p. 128, Kalayuga 1125 (the date is given incorrectly in the printed text *kalayuge pañcavassādikhe darsate sahase sampatte*), Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 186. See also Taw Sein Ko, 'A Preliminary Study of the Po: U: Daung Inscription' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxi, pp. 1 ff.). The Po: U: Daung inscription, engraved in a cave near Prome, is interesting as commemorating the consolidation of the Burmese power in Further India at this period.

auspicious changes for the Order was the rebuilding of Ava (Ratanapura), which was reoccupied as the capital in 1766.

The *Susanavamsa* passes over this reign very briefly, and we must look to other sources for mention of the literary work done. The king's tutor, Jambudīpa-Anantadhaja, is merely named, and we may guess from this that he was either of the *Ekamika* sect or took no interest in establishing the *Pārupana* practices. He was the author of a grammatical commentary (composed in 1768) on the *Vinayavinicchaya*.¹ Either Setabbinda or his *dcariya* (the wording of the chronicle leaves it in doubt which of the two) did nevertheless take strong measures against some doctrinal heresy which began to spread in Burma about this time. The heretics were summoned before the head of the Sangha and 'made to accept' the true doctrine—how, we are not told.²

Hsin-hpyu-shin is said to have been a generous patron of literature, and, though a good Buddhist, he showed a certain enthusiasm for Brahmanic learning and had a number of Sanskrit works translated into Burmese. The list of these books, according to Forchhammer, begins with Vopadeva's Sanskrit Grammar,³ and contains, besides, works on astrology, palmistry, medicine, and erotica.⁴

In 1776 Mahādhammarajadhurājā (otherwise Sing-gu-ai),⁵ the nineteen-year-old son of Hsin-hpyu-shin, succeeded and reigned for a few years. He had but little time or peace for religious works, but it happened that, coming under the influence of Nandamala, a monk of great learning and authority on monastic questions, he became deeply interested in the *Parapana-Ekamika* dispute. The chronicle tells us that the young king dreamed a strange dream. The great

¹ There is, I believe, a MS. of this work in the Neville Collection at the British Museum. The *Vinayavinicchaya* was by Buddhadatta of Ceylon. *Sās.*, p. 33, P.T.H., p. 43, G.V., p. 59.

² *Sās.*, p. 128.

³ The *Migdhabodha*, written in the thirteenth century, see A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed. p. 243.

⁴ See Forchhammer in Jardines *Notes on Buddhist Law*, part iv, Introductory Remarks, pp. x, xiv, also J. Gray, *Dynasty of Alaungprā*, p. 24, and *Nile Literature of Burma*, pp. 6 and 134.

⁵ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 209.

god Sakra, clothed in white and adorned with white blossoms, came to him and told him how, on the bank of the 'Nammada River in the Aparanta Country',¹ the sacred footprints of the Buddha were concealed by the wild growth of the jungle, 'root bound up with root, trunk with trunk, and leaf with leaf.' Former kings in their ignorance had left the place overgrown and neglected, but on him whom the god had enlightened fell the duty of clearing it. The dream was explained to the king by a monk, who no doubt told him of Nandamāla, the eminent teacher. The king at once sent for Nandamāla and thenceforth kept the *thera* near him. Nandamāla seized the opportunity of expounding the Pārupana-Ekamāika controversy, and convinced Mahādhammarājadhīrajā that only the Pārupanas had the authority of the sacred texts on their side. The king summoned both parties to hold a debate before him, in which the Ekamāikas were hopelessly defeated, and a royal decree was issued imposing the Pārupana discipline on the whole Order. Nandamāla was appointed Supreme Head.² It was probably at this time that he wrote the *Sasanasuddhidīpikā* (expounding "the purity of religion", or "religious reform")

When a young man, shortly after his ordination, he had translated some ancient and authoritative Pālī works, the *Vinayavimochaya*,³ *Suttasaṅgaha*,⁴ and *Mahāvaggatthakathā*,⁵ into Burmese. Nandamāla's name is not associated with any work on the Abhidhamma. Perhaps his preference for Vinaya

¹ See C. Durosselle's *Notes sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie d'après de la Légende de Pārua*, BEFEO., tome v, pp 146 ff. A *cetiya* had been built in the seventeenth century to mark the place of these footprints, first rediscovered by the saintly *acariya* of Sāvaṇṇ-min-tara (1829-48).

² His official name thenceforth was Narindābuddhayaṃmahādhammarājadhīrajaguru.

³ See above, p. 28.

⁴ See Oldenberg, *Pālī MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 80. The *Suttasaṅgaha* is an anthology from the *Suttas*, *Vimānavatthūs* (legends of the celestial abodes), etc.

⁵ Probably Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Mahāvagga* section of the *Dighanikāya*. The text of the *Mahāvagga* had been interpreted by Ariyaratnākara, see Oldenberg, *Pālī MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 69. The *Mahāvagga* mentioned may, however, be the section of the *Vinaya* called by that name.

studies¹ influenced his pupils, and had the effect of bringing under discussion questions which had been less prominent in the last reign. We might suppose, too, that his authority would have sufficed for a settlement of the *Pārūpana-Ekamsika* dispute, but this, as we shall see, was yet to be delayed awhile.

We can now go on to the reign of the famous Bodōpayā,² concerning ourselves chiefly, as the *Sāsanavamsa* does, with its religious events, and passing over its sinister beginning, in the midst of conspiracy and murder. Alaungpayā's fifth son was soon established firmly on the throne. The opening years of his reign showed the peculiarities that were to distinguish it to the end—reckless shedding of blood and lavish building of pagodas. His benefactions to the Order—those of the royal family and nobles are recorded in the chronicle as coming from him—were enormous. The chronicler writing in the nineteenth century and the learned Nāna, who held the post of Supreme Head of the Order in Bodōpayā's own time, both paint the king in colours through which we can see but a dim outline of the truth. Bodōpayā's personality has not lacked describers, and surely has never had one more indulgent than the good Saṅgharāja, to whom was given the task of commemorating the king's *adhiṣṭa* (consecration, literally anointing) in his new capital, Amarapura.³ Nāna, or Nagaabhiyama, had only been ordained seven years when he was summoned to live near the king and officiate as *raḍḍaguru*. Naturally he soon had a royal commission to fulfil, and his learning was brought to bear on the subject of the consecration ceremony. He translated a treatise on the subject, the *Rājābhiṣekagandha*, into Burmese.⁴ He was probably not the author of the original work, but revised it after consulting ancient authorities.

¹ The *Paṭakathamaññi* (p. 43) mentions a commentary on the *Vinaya-saṅgha* written by the doctress of King Sin-gu at Ratanapura Ava. The *Vinaya-saṅgha* was one of the famous treatises consulted by Dhammaceti, see above, p. 38, and of Sāa, pp. 33, 43.

² Bodōpayā came to the throne in 1782. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 209, Sāa, p. 130 (1143 Kalīyuga).

³ Amarapura, about 8 miles from Ava, was occupied as the capital in 1783. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 211, Sāa, p. 132.

⁴ Sāa, p. 131. Nāna is said to have purified the *Rājābhiṣekagandha*. The Pali word used *pariuddatta*, applied to a text means correcting and clearing away interpolations.

The *thera* then received the sonorous name *Ñāpābhissāna-dharmamahādhammarājaguru* as a further token of the royal favour.

In a few years he became the leading personage in the Burmese fraternity. *Bodāpayā* bestowed monasteries, built by different members of his family, upon several *theras* renowned for learning, gave to four aged and eminent *theras* the title *saṅgharājā* (sometimes translated 'bishop'), and afterwards appointed four others with the same title to help them in their charge. *Ñāpābhivamsa* was then placed at the head of all, and entrusted with the reforming (or, to use the chronicler's expression, the 'purifying') of the religious world. This was a decisive moment for the controversy that had so long divided the Order. As we have seen in other reigns, the views of the king's chief *ācariya* were most important in those vexed questions which were usually settled by the king, and which, under a ruler of *Bodāpayā*'s temperament, would certainly be settled without much discussion. And now the *Ekampikas* saw that they had not much to hope from their old leader *Atula*. He had been passed over by *Bodāpayā* after holding the post of king's *ācariya* since the reign of *Alaungpayā*. But before *Ñāpa* arrived at the height of his honours and dignities *Atula* made another determined attempt to win the king over. He wrote a memoir to show that the practices of the *Ekampika* sect had been taught by no less an authority than the great *Moggallāna*,¹ who, he maintained, had composed a text called the *Cūḷagāthipada*. How might all this be known, *Atula*'s opponents inquired. It was explained, he replied, in a text known as the *Pitakattayaḷakkhaṇagandha*, brought to Burma from Ceylon by *Buddhaghosa*. But the *Pārūpana* *theras* had only waited long enough to let their adversary involve himself thus far to this point, and in a few words they denounced the fraud to the assembly. The text on which the *Ekampikas* depended, said they, was a treatise called *Vinayagāthipada*,²

¹ The Arhat *Moggallāna*, one of the Buddha's chief disciples, see *Sās.*, p. 136.

² There is a *Vinayagāthipada* in Forchhammer's *List*, p. v. The author given in the Sinhalese priest *Joti*.

of the twelfth century, written in Ceylon by a *thera* Moggallāna living in the reign of Parakkamabāhu,¹ therefore centuries later than the time of Buddhaghosa, not to speak of the ancient days of the Arahāt Moggallāna.

The story of the debate is brief, except in the description of the dramatic moment when the feeble fraud was brought home to Atula. He was, says the chronicler, like a wild animal caught in the hunter's trap. But the *Pārupanas* pressed him with more questions: was the *Cūḷaganthipada* mentioned in the three great *Vinaya* *ṭikās* (the *Vajrabuddhi-ṭikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, and the *Vimativinodanī*)? ² The unwary Atula replied that it was. How comes it then, said his opponents, that in your *Cūḷaganthipada* we find the words 'thus says the *Vajrabuddhi-ṭikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, thus says the *Vimativinodanī*'? Another pitiable defeat for the champion of the *Ekamsikas*. As the *Parupanas* said, the text he had chosen as his refuge had proved to be a peril, and the quaint story of the singer *Pātali* is told to illustrate the case.³

This was the end of the *Pārupana-Ekamsika* controversy. The partisans of the *Cūḷaganthipada* might perhaps have made another stand, but *Bodōpaya* was in no mind for long debates. He promptly issued a decree that the *Pārupana* practices were to be considered orthodox and observed by the whole Order; and he was obeyed.

¹ The *Parakkamabāhu* mentioned is probably the *Samghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu*, 1133-84, who summoned a council at Anurādhapura, see Kern, *Man. Ind. Buddh.*, p. 132.

² For these three works see Sās., pp. 33, 34, GV, pp. 60, 61; P.T.H., pp. 28, 29. The *Sāratthadīpanī*, according to Siñhalase and Burmese tradition, was written by *Sāruputta* at the request of *Parakkamabāhu*. *Vajrabuddhi* and *Kassapa*, the author of *Vimativinodanī*, also represent Ceylon tradition, so greatly venerated in Burma.

³ *Pātali* (*Natapātali*), excited by drink after a successful performance, was swept away by the current of the Ganges while attempting to cross. His wife, certainly with unusual presence of mind, cried out to him from the river-bank to teach her a song before he should perish, as she must needs earn her own living thenceforth. The luckless actor, whose lute, as it filled with water, was rapidly weighing him down, had only time for a few words of lament—that which was the refuge of the sick and afflicted, the water of Ganga, must, alas! be his death. (The story of *Pātali* occurs in the commentary on the *Jāta*. See Fausbøll's edition of the *Jāta*, vol. iii, p. 507.)

Bodōpayā had a good share of his father's energy, but a cruelty and inhumanity, on which all accounts agree,¹ outweighed in him the qualities that make a leader of men. His belief in his own greatness amounted almost to mania, yet he could not inspire others with that belief as Alaungpaya had done. His attempts at foreign conquest and schemes for religious monuments, such as the world had never seen, failed, partly from the deep hostility and discontent his cruelty had aroused among his subjects. A few complacent scholars covered his name with eulogies during his lifetime, but the Order, as a body, refused to recognize his claim to be the future Buddha, and in this was consistent with the old tradition of monastic independence.

The story of Bodōpayā's unfortunate campaign in Siam in the years 1785 and 1786 does not much concern us. An interval of peace followed. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the oppressions of the government brought about a revolt in Arakan, and this led indirectly to the King of Burma's first relations with British India, the Burmese general having pursued the leaders of the rebellion into British territory.² One result of the Arakan rebellion was the awakening of a new ambition in Bodōpayā, namely, to annex that part of Eastern Bengal which had once belonged to Arakan.³ He needed a pretext to send secret envoys to some of the native princes of India, and in his character of patron of literature he was able to make his negotiations with these possible allies appear to be missions to procure Sanskrit books.

Literature, at all events, gained by these schemes, for a considerable number of Sanskrit works were brought to the capital and some were translated.⁴

In the latter part of Bodōpayā's reign there was active intercourse between the Sanghas of Ceylon and Burma. Probably no ecclesiastic in Ceylon was more respected by the strictly

¹ Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 230, 231.

² Phayre, pp. 230 ff.

³ The King of Arakan extended his territory to Dacca about 1620, 'profiting by the confusion which then existed in the Mogul Empire.' Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 177.

⁴ Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 224.

orthodox Siñhalese monks than Nānābhivamea, the Saṅgharājā of Burma. He is said to have been a 'great benefactor' to the group known as the 'Amarapura sect' or school, and the Amarapura school did in fact convey to Ceylon a number of Pali texts either of Burmese authorship or better known to the Burmese fraternity than to the Siñhalese.¹ A large number of these imported treatises deal with Abhidhamma subjects. Nānābhivamea himself was very active in Vinaya teaching. He lived in turn at each of the several monasteries bestowed on him by the king, directing the studies of the Order in 'the two Vibhaṅgas' (the Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga, sections of the ancient Vinaya text treating in detail the code for monks and nuns).² He was the author of several works, in some of which we see the teacher and guardian of the doctrine, in others the royal preceptor, whose duties included writing edifying books at the king's request. Examples of Nāpa's more strictly religious works are (1) a *ṭīkā* entitled *Peṭālamkara*³ on the *Nettipakarapa*⁴ and (2) a *ṭīkā* entitled *Sadhuḥjanavilāsinī*⁵ on the *Dighenikāya*. At the request of the king he undertook a Burmese translation of the Pali commentary on the Jātaka (the *Jātakatthakathā*). He is also the author of some short Pali works of the Jātaka type, narratives containing religious and moral teaching, the *Catusāmaṇeravatthu*, the *Rajovāḍavatthu*, the *Chaddantanagarajuppattikathā*, and the *Tigumbhathomana*.⁶ Last on the list comes the *Rajādhirajavilāsinī*, which deserves a few words of description. In the case of this particular work the king himself supplied the subject and some of the materials, and

¹ This is the case with many of the texts found in Ceylon and described by Mr. Nevill with the aid of Siñhalese scholars.

² Nāpa himself gave the example of the stricter rule of life. The *Sāsanaṅga* tells us that he continually observed at least one of the thirteen rules technically called *dāṭṭaṅga*, particular to the more ascetic among the recluses.

³ Sās., p. 134, PTH., p. 36.

⁴ See above, pp. 5, 6.

⁵ Sās., p. 134, PTH., p. 33.

⁶ Lt. 'Praise of the Tigumbha' (Sās., p. 135). The Tigumbha or Tigumbha *ceṭiya* is the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon. See Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, part 4, p. 17.

the royal command to put these into becoming shape was conveyed by an important official to the Sangharajā's monastery. The Brethren, as the rule or etiquette of the Order demanded, laid the charge on their Principal, who forthwith carried it out. How far Bodōpayā's eulogists flattered him is a question for impartial chroniclers of events to answer. In literary history the *Rajadhīrūjavilasini* is precious as a specimen of the 'elegant scholarship' of the time. This curious little Pali work, written, as explained above, on the occasion of Bodōpayā's consecration, is in prose, the prose of the school that had forgotten Buddha-ghosa's lessons, or was determined to better them. It staggers under a weight of adjectives that seem meant to bewilder the reader with the display of the author's resources as each sentence brings its load along. An Indian model has been copied, and copied faithfully, except that there is little of the true Indian fantasy in all the decoration, while allusions to Buddhist legends are brought in with a curious sober carefulness, as precedents might be cited in a legal document.

Royal heroes of old days are called in as examples, Mahā-mammata, the first king and the ancestor of the Sakya race, comes first, and after him a series of dim, mythical figures, whose presence in the prologue is the indispensable compliment to the *rajadhīrāja* enthroned in Amarapura. With Aśoka begin historical allusions, and then come quotations from the Suttas, from the commentaries, from the *ṭīkas*, from the Mahāvamsa, from the *Rajāsūkkhāpada*,¹ even a definition from the *Saddaniti*,² to bring forward all that traditional learning might have to say on the anointing (*abhiśeka*) ceremony and its sacramental virtue. Launched upon this theme the author finds occasion to speak of everything that could shed glory on the 'righteous king' as a benefactor of his people and of religion. Ancient maxims are cited from Jātakas (for example, the Sankicca and Tessakupa Jātakas, in which the hero of the story, the future Buddha, discourses on the duties of kings). In the matter of religion Bodōpayā's achievements are all

¹ Obviously a well-known manual of the duties of kings.

² See above, pp. 16, 17.

recorded. he had settled the Pārupana-Ekamsaka dispute, instituted reforms in all parts of his dominions,¹ he had received and returned a mission to Ceylon, he had brought images of the Buddha from conquered Arakan to his capital and received others from China, he had built *ceṭiyas* and celebrated great festivals of adoration. He had, indeed, done everything that befitted a monarch who aspired to be the Aśoka or the Duṭṭhagamiṇi of Burma.

To this man, of all men, the symbols of power and the external show of magnificence were important, and it so happened that he had acquired an auspicious possession that exalted his more than normal self-satisfaction beyond measure. This was a white elephant, captured in the forests of Pegu, named Nibbānapaccaya, and conveyed afterwards with great pomp to the capital, where, if we judge from the Rājadhīrajavilāsaṇi, it was the real hero of the *abhiṣeka* festival.

Bodōpayā's eulogist, obliged to say at least as much about the elephant as about the king, attacks the task with courage. He brings forward the traditional elephant lore embodied in the *Haṭṭhisutta*² to show that every kingly quality and auspicious mark was possessed by Nibbānapaccaya. Perhaps we have no right to judge it all from our own point of view, but as we read we cannot but picture Nānabhivama, after the sumptuous festival, sighing over his weary task.

For us the interest of the Rājadhīrajavilāsaṇi is rather in the literary references than the matter or style, which are both tiresome. The author is very careful to show that he has not neglected secular any more than religious authorities on his subject. He draws from the literature of various periods and from many branches of learning. We pass from the ancient *suttas* to the fifth-century commentaries and to the later *ṭīkā*, from these to twelfth-century grammar, from the famous Elephant-book to the royal chronicle of Ceylon, from the *Jātaka* glossary, *Jātakābhidhāna*, to Sanskrit etymology and

¹ The 'five regions' Rāmañña, Kasmira, Yonaka, Yavana, and Rakkhaṅga are mentioned.

² Lit. elephant-suttas (apophorisms), a well-known manual for elephant-trainers.

Brahmanic astrology and chiromancy. But the author's favourite source is the Pali Jātaka itself. His work is adorned with verses and passages of the commentary on certain tales of this famous collection. In the tales selected the hero is almost invariably a righteous king or an elephant perfect in all points, among them the Aśinacitta,¹ the Śilavanaga,² and Vessantara³ Jātakas occur most frequently. The Tesakūṇa-jātaka,⁴ the Dammedha,⁵ Cūlapaduma,⁶ and Ummagga⁷ Jātakas also provide illustrations.

In this respect the Rājādhirajavilāsinī is a typical piece of Burmese literature, and charms us, in the end, for all its tediousness. For the Jātakas are a possession common to the religious community and the lay-world, the learned and the unlettered. From the days when they were rudely pictured on Taruk-pye-min's temple walls at Pagan⁸ to the date of the latest editions we find in the British Government's Official List of Publications, the Jātakas have been a Bible to the Burmese. This comparison applies most aptly to the Jātakas of the Mahāpātā or Great Section (the last) of the Jātaka book, containing the longest narratives of the Bodhisat, and relating his deeds and golden sayings in his later existences either as a man or a god.¹⁰ Their art is the old art of the Oriental tale-teller, with its mingling of unbridled fantasy and minute realism; their wisdom is the wisdom of old proverbs and maxims of the Indian people, their lesson the praise of the Teacher, the supremacy gifted among men, the Bodhisat, playing many

¹ The Sanskrit Brhajātaka and Sāmadrikakāvya are quoted.

² See Jātaka, Pausboll's edition, vol. i, pp. 21 ff.

³ Jātaka (Nidāna, p. 45), vol. i, p. 319.

⁴ Jātaka, vol. vi, p. 479.

⁵ Jātaka, vol. v p. 109. In this charming tale the king's duties are expounded to him by the three birds he has adopted as his children.

⁶ Jātaka, vol. i, p. 444.

⁷ Jātaka, vol. ii, p. 116.

⁸ Jātaka, vol. vi, p. 329.

⁹ 1248-79 A.D. See A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien. Veröffentlichungen aus dem kōnigl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, 1897, Band v, pp. 128-31.

¹⁰ In passing we may mention the titles most familiar to every Burmese Buddhist from his childhood onward: the Tem, the Janaka, Suvāṇṇasama, Nimi, Mahosaddha, Bhūṇḍatta, Candakumāra, Nārada, Vidhura, and Vessantara Jātakas.

parts. The author of the *Rājūdhārājavalāsini* might be thought (by Bodopayā) to be pointing to the virtues of the king who founded Amarapura, but *Ñāṇābhivamsa* knew that his readers would see in all a homage to the Lord Buddha. What these edifying legends are to the Burmese to-day they were when *Ñāṇābhivamsa* wrote, and to many generations before him. To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well.

CHAPTER VI

THE PALI LAW-TEXTS OF BURMA — PALI LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY — MIN-DON-MIN AND THE FIFTH COUNCIL THE ERA OF THE PRINTING-PRESS — CONCLUSION

Alaungpayā's conquest of the Talaings had been more than a feat of arms and establishing of military supremacy. He had set himself to crush the Talaing language and nationality. If the consequent inequality in culture between Upper and Lower Burma was, after all, less than we should expect,¹ the reason is to be sought in the past religious history of both provinces. The equalizing and unifying element in the states so often at war or in rivalry was, and had always been, the Buddhist religion and the Pali language. The kings who had ruled over the widest territory—Anorata, Dhammaceti, Bayin Naung, Ukkamsaka, Alaungpayā, Hsin-hpyu-shun, Bodōpayā—each in his turn and in his own way, had lent his power to the service of religion and encouraged scholarship. And even in the worst times of disorder and change there had been centres of learning where the Order could be comparatively at peace; there were always remote or protected monasteries here and there where old texts could be copied and new commentaries and treatises composed. The stream of learning flowed wherever a channel offered itself, and, whether in the north or the south, was often reinforced from Ceylon.

We have seen how the vigour and influence of the school named, after the place of its origin, the Sihassaṅgha, continued in Burma from generation to generation. On the other hand, the abundant vitality of the schools of Further India at the time of the eighteenth-century revival reacted on Ceylon, where the Burmese school known as the Amarapura sect

¹ It must be admitted that the last Census Report judges Upper Burma decidedly superior to Lower Burma in the matter of 'literacy', and mentions the Upper Burman *pongyi* for his 'share in the labours of the past' (R. Lowin, *Report on the Census of Burma*, 1901, p. 65).

introduced a number of texts either new to the Sinhalese brethren or long fallen out of mind.

The intimate connexion, religious and literary, between Ceylon and Burma from the eleventh century onwards needs no further illustration. Though the Buddhists of Indo-China have attempted to appropriate Buddhaghosa, they have always, in all their literary chronicles, done ample and painstaking justice to Sinhalese scholarship and honoured Sinhalese names. Sinhalese influence is seen at its strongest in the earlier periods. When we come to the end of the eighteenth century we find that a branch of Pali literature has developed in Burma, owing nothing or very little to Ceylon and bearing deep traces of a purely Indian origin. We come, that is, to the period of reduction of Pali Dhammasatthas (Sanskrit *dharmaśāstras*) or law-codes, of which some were first drawn up after Alaungpayā's conquest of Pegu and during the reorganization of the greatly extended kingdom of Burma. Others, as we shall see, were more ancient and had been the patrimony of the Talaungs.

These ancient codes of Burma, and, with certain differences, the Pali law-texts of later times, are based on Hindu *dharmaśāstras*, Manu,¹ and others. This has become clear from the researches of various scholars whose opinions are given by Sir John Jardine, formerly chief Judicial Commissioner for Burma, in his *Notes on Buddhist Law*, where he adds much precious material from his own stores of learning and experience of Indian and Burmese law.²

His collaborator, Dr Forchhammer, came to the conclusion that the Talaung States became political dependencies of powerful Hindu colonies existing in Pegu before the eleventh century, and adopted Hindu codes from them.³ We cannot venture here to do more than record the Burmese tradition.

¹ See *The Laws of Manu*, translation by G. Bühler with introduction, SBEs, vol. xiv, and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sittlichkeit*, Grundriss, i, 8.

² The Burmese 'Dhammathats' are the base of Buddhist law as now administered in Burma. 'The Pali scholar,' says Sir John Jardine, 'ought to have preceded the judge.' Sir John Jardine himself called the Pali scholar to the judge's aid, most fortunately for those interested in the Pali literature.

³ *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 38, 62, 63.

The vexed question of ancient origins is a subject for a more elaborate study and more competent treatment than is possible in the present essay. We will now touch very briefly on the main points in the history of the Pali law-texts of Burma, as traced by the two learned authors mentioned.

We have already spoken of the ancient *Dhammavilāsa* compiled in Pali by the Talung monk Sāriputta of Patippajeyya near Dala² about the year 1174 A.D., when Narapati-si-thu reigned at Pagan.

We come next to the *Waguru Dhammasattha*,³ compiled by the king of that name reigning at Martaban in 1280. It is typical and important. Forchhammer in his learned study of this text makes a careful comparison between the *Waguru* and the Hindu *Manu* and other ancient codes, chiefly *Yājñavalkya*⁴ and *Nārada*.⁵ The comparison brings out clearly the pervading Indian element in the code, at the same time the translator finds material for some very interesting observations on the radical difference between the Buddhist law, of which this is the first noteworthy document, and the Brahmanic law, from which the *Talaing* code takes its form and most of its provisions. This difference is in the spirit. The Vedic, sacerdotal element has vanished from the *Waguru*. For instance, sacraments (such as marriage), the efficacy of sacrifice, the possibility of expiation by penance, are all an essential part of Brahmanic law. But the Buddhist lawgivers ignored the sacramental view of marriage, and based their theory of punishment on the doctrine of *karma*, which, as will be remembered, takes the past and future existences of the individual into account. With this doctrine in mind they thought out a system of legislation to defend the social order without inflicting what must be, according to their theory, unjustified,

² See above, p. 33.

³ Opposite Rangoon. See J. Jardine's *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, Introductory Preface by E. Forchhammer, p. 5, and *Notes*, pt. vii, Preface by J. Jardine, p. 1.

⁴ Translated by E. Forchhammer as part of the Jardine Prize Essay in 1866, Rangoon, Government Printing Press.

⁵ A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 267, 299.

⁶ A. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

useless, illogical penalties. Their system is described as a civil code punishing every crime or offence with fines, demanding 'compensation which is proportionate to the amount of damage occasioned by one person to another'. 'Morality no punishment can be inflicted,' says Forchhammer, 'because in the Buddhist's belief every deed will with unerring certainty bring its own definite reward or punishment, which cannot be increased or diminished by the appreciation or condemnation of other beings.'¹ Forchhammer's study of the Wagaru led him to believe that the Talaing law-code, Indian in origin, reflects the social and religious conditions of ancient India during the supremacy of Buddhism,² and can claim to belong to a Buddhist Manava school earlier than the well-known Brahmanic recension of Manu.³ The translator of the Wagaru, unhappily, did not live to follow up the researches he had begun, and by which he might have found a firm foundation for this theory. It remains an interesting conjecture. We must leave it for the present where he left it, to trace the stages of development through which the Pali and Burmese Dhammasatthas passed, from the predominance of the Hindu Institutes preserved by the Talaings to the victory of the Buddhist tradition embodied in the later codes, where the Vinaya- and Suttapitakas are the authority and the Jātaka supplies precedents and examples.

The Wagaru was translated into Pali in the sixteenth century by a Talaing jurist with the auspicious name of Buddhaghosa.⁴ 'With him,' Forchhammer says, 'begins the authenticated history of Burmese Dhammathata.' Buddhaghosa's *Manussara* is a Pali translation of the Wagaru Dhammasattha, till then only known in the Talaing language.⁵

In the seventeenth century another code, the *Manu-Yin*,⁶ was

¹ See *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 61, 62.

² For a description of these conditions see Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* ('Story of the Nations' series), 1903.

³ See *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 38.

⁴ Needless to say, the Buddhaghosa of commentary fame profits by the coincidence. The Talaing tradition makes the indefatigable sage the bearer of Hindu law-books to Rāmañña in the fifth century (*Notes*, pt. iii, p. 2).

⁵ See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. viii, p. 2.

⁶ Manco Rang. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, Introd. Remarks, p. xii.

compiled in verse. It is in substance the Wagaru Dhammasattha, but contains additional matter from the *hpyatton* or 'decisions', that is, Burmese ancient customary law, purely Buddhist and founded chiefly on certain Jātakas.¹ A seventeenth-century version of the Dhammavilāsa Dhammasattha, dated 1650² and drawn up by a second Dhammavilāsa, is also called a Manu Dhammasattha, very characteristic of the later period is the introduction of a Buddhist element, absent in the Talaing original, for instance, quotations from the Dhammapada.

The next stage in the history of the law texts is one of marked change and development. Alaungpayā had proved himself a pitiless destroyer, but he proposed to build up a sound administration for his new kingdom. Some law codes were compiled at his command, a Mana-Yin in 1756, the important Manu-Kyay in 1758-60,³ and a third, the Dara-javitāraṇī. The Manu-Kyay exists only in the Burmese version,⁴ but belongs to Pali literature by the fact that it is largely grounded on canonical Pali texts, namely, Jātakas (the Mahosadha and Vidhura and other extracts from the Suttapitaka), the Milindapaṭṭha, the Samantapāsādikā (Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya), the Kankhavitaraṇī (commentary on the Patimokkha), the Visuddhimagga, and the Sūratthadipaniṭṭikā.⁵ By the time Burmese law is crystallized into this famous code and the hardly less famous Manuvannana,⁶ we can see how

¹ The Vidhura and Mahosadha Jātakas are examples of Jātakas dear to the Buddhist lawgiver. See, for the Burmese version of the famous Vidhura Jātaka, the translation by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John in JRAS., 1896.

² *Notes*, pt. iv, p. 5, and pt. vii, p. 2.

³ See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv. *Introductory Preface*, p. 4. The author was Bhummajeyya Mahāsiri Uttamajeyya. Sir John Jardine points out resemblances between the law of marriage and divorce in the Manu-Kyay and the Hindu code, Vyavaharamayukha, in force in the Dekkhan (*Notes*, pt. iv, p. 10).

⁴ Published at Moulemein and translated into English by Dr. Richardson in 1847.

⁵ *Tika on the Vinaya*, by Sāriputtara, written in the reign of Narapati-an-thu. PTH p. 38, Forchhammer, *List*, p. iv. See also *Notes*, pt. iii, *Introductory Remarks*, p. 12, and pt. iv *Introductory Preface*, pp. 4 and 5.

⁶ The Manuvannana Dhammasattha was published in 1898 by Colonel Horace Brown. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. ii, p. 1.

the spirit of Buddhist ethics has permeated the Dhammasatthas and supplied the place of those religious sanctions which we can hardly imagine absent from an Indian legal text. The Manu-Kyaw professes a respect for learning; only such men, it says, should be made judges who are acquainted with the *Pitakas* and the *Vedas*.¹

Hsin-hpyu-shin followed the example of his father, and by his order several law-books were written between 1766 and 1774, among these were the *Manusāra-shwa-mym*, the *Manuvannana*,² and the *Vinicchayapakāsani*. The author, Vanna-kyaw-din, was a pupil of the *Sangharājā* Jambudipa Anantadhaja. He is said to have been still a member of the Order when he wrote the first-named work. A poetical version of the Manu-Yin mentioned above, known as the *Manuyinlankū*, is ascribed to him. The aid of theras learned in the *Tripitaka* was thought necessary by this time, and we are told that the monks Tejosara, Chandapanna, and Toundwin Kyaw assisted the council of jurists called together at Ava by Hsin-hpyu-shin.³

An example of a modern law text is the *Mohavicchedani*,⁴ written in the year 1832 by Rājabala-kyaw-din. It is composed in Pali verses (*gāthā*). Forchhammer has an interesting note on this work, in which he says. 'It differs in one important point from all other Burmese law books. *Manu* the *Rishi* [i.e. sage] has entirely disappeared. Rājabala-kyaw-din, aware probably of the incongruity of placing *Manu* in the Buddhist pantheon, as had been done by the jurists of the Alompraic period, and not finding any reference in the Buddhist scriptures that could support *Manu* in the dignity

¹ *Notes*, pt. iv, *Introd. Preface*, p. 7 on the *Vedas*, see above, pp. 50, 51.

² There is a rather significant difference between the Burmese and Pali versions of the *Manuvannana*. In the former there are frequent allusions to the *Vyākaranas* and other works transmitted by the king's command from the Sanskrit on astrology, palmistry, medicine, and erotica). These references are absent from the Pali version, which, composed by a monk, shows the influence of the author's monastic traditions.

³ At this council was prepared the *Lankaśāra*, the collective name by which the *Manuvannana* and *Manusāra* are known. See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. iv, *Introd. Preface*, p. 6.

⁴ See *Notes on Buddhist Law*, pt. vi, p. 1. Note by Forchhammer and translation by Maung Theka Phyoo of the Law of Inheritance according to the *Mohavicchedani Dhammathat*.

of a lawgiver to a Buddhist community, broke with the past traditional history of the law-books of his country, he says in the introduction that, obedient to the request of his king, he proceeds to unfold the law, as it was preached by the all-wise Buddha in his great compassion for the ignorance of men and recorded originally in the Magadha language, the first of all languages, the mother of all other tongues (*mūlabhāṣā* . . .). The text of the *Mohavicchedanī* is the somewhat rearranged but otherwise identical material of the *Maṇḍa Dhammathaṭṭa*.¹

Pali has never become to any great degree the language of things secular, its destiny seems to be to return to the service of religion. In the legal texts we notice the use of the Pali language (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Taluings, (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language, naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code, is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism. An excellent example of Buddhist influence is the change in the wife's legal position. But the Pali law-texts are full of other interesting matter. The few above mentioned could not be left out of an account, however summary, of the Pali books of the Burmese. The place due to them has of necessity been curtailed in this sketch. In leaving them, however, to pass on to the religious literature of the nineteenth century the writer dares to hope that this branch of Oriental history and its problems will attract scholars again as they fortunately did some years ago, with the results only too briefly indicated above.

We must now return to the history of monastic scholarship in Burma.

Bodopayā died in 1819. He was succeeded by his grandson Hpa-gyi-doa.¹ 'He commenced his reign well,' says Phayre.² 'He remitted some taxes for three years, and in a speech to his courtiers promised to rule justly and to follow the precepts

¹ *Sivatribhavanādityapavarapaṇḍitamahādhammarāṭṭhī*, Sā. p. 142.

² *History of Burma*, p. 232.

of religion.' The Sāsana-vamsa is at pains to show that he consulted learned monks and ministers on various questions concerning the king's duty to the fraternity, the perpetuity of grants of land for religious purposes, and so forth. These discussions led to much research in ancient texts. On one of those occasions a minister, who was an authority on the Vinaya, laid down the principle that lands granted by kings in former times, for the building of *cetiya*s and *cūḍāra*s, should be perpetually reserved to the Order. He fearlessly sought a precedent as far back as the time of the Buddha Sujata, and the king was entirely satisfied.¹

Hpa-gyi-doa was a respecter of tradition. Under his auspices the modern Rajavamsa (chronicle of the kings) was compiled at Pagan.² His preceptor Paññāsīha³ was appointed Supreme Head of the Order. There is no mention in the Sāsana-vamsa of any books written by him.

Hpa-gyi-doa's time, either as a patron of the Order or as 'lord of kings', was very short. In 1824 war was formally declared by the British Government against Burma, and two years of desperate fighting followed. The death of his general Mahābandula broke the Burmese king's courage. The queen and other partisans of war had perhaps inspired him till then with some hopes of victory, but the British occupation of Rangoon, Pegu City, and Arakan dealt these hopes a mortal blow. In 1826 the Burmese submitted, and the treaty of Yandabō was signed.

Hpa-gyi-doa saw his kingdom reduced and his power crippled. Something in this man failed then, where his forerunners Alaungpayā and Bodopayā would have risen up in another effort. He sank into listless melancholy and inefficiency, and in 1837 was deposed by his younger brother Tharawadi-min.⁴

Tharāwadi-min, who died insane, showed in his earlier days

¹ Sās., p. 145.

² In 1930. It was printed in the reign of Min-dōn-min. See E. Huber, BEFEO, tome iv, pp. 494 seq.

³ Of Salin myo, afterwards Munindabhisarasaddhammadharmamahā-dhammarājādhirājaguru.

⁴ Siripavarādityalokādhipati, 1837. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 287, Sās., p. 146.

great respect for the Order. His first preceptor, Suriyavamsa, was proclaimed Supreme Head by a royal decree. When this therā died he received, the Sāsana-vamsa tells us, extraordinary funeral honours. His pupil Ñeyyadhamma was then appointed Saṅgharāja, it was he who received at Amarapura an important Siūhalese mission, including the learned Paññātissa and some others. Ñeyyadhamma's pupils were numerous, and he was an enthusiastic teacher. As the chronicler says,¹ 'in order that religion might long endure and that his hearers might easily arrive at full comprehension, he, with the aid of various books, revised the text of the Saddhammapaṭiṭkā, commentary on the Mahāniddeśa, and made a translation thereof into Burmese.'²

The Sāsana-vamsa does not mention any other scholars of this reign.

Tharāwadi-min's son and successor, Pagan-min,³ only appears in the Sāsana-vamsa to mark the date of some eminent scholars of the time, among whom Ñeyyadhammabhivamsa is mentioned as the author of a Burmese translation of the Saddhammavaiṣṣinī,⁴ the commentary on Paṭisambhūḍāmagga (of the Khuddakanikāya). Ñeyyadhammabhivamsa's chief pupil, Paññāsāmi, a young monk of five years' standing, began his scholarly career at this time. His work as a chronicler (he was the author of the Sāsana-vamsa) is of special interest for us. His first essay was a translation into Burmese of a commentary on difficult passages (Gaṇṭhipadattavaṇṇanā) of the venerable grammatical work Saddattabhāḍedacintā.⁵ Ten years later, after much labour and comparison of texts, he produced a revised edition of the commentary on the Abhi-dhānapadīpikā⁶ and translated it into Burmese.

¹ Sās., p. 148.

² The commentary on the Mahāniddeśa (the eleventh book of the Khuddakanikāya) was composed in Ceylon by Upasena. Sās., p. 33, GV, p. 70.

³ Śiripavarādītyaviṇṇāyānantayasamahādhammarājādhirāja, 1846, Sās., p. 148. He is described briefly but so drastically by Yule in the Mission to the Court of Ava, that we can hardly be surprised at the silence of the Sāsana-vamsa.

⁴ By Mahānāma of Ceylon. Sās., p. 33.

⁵ See above, pp. 20, 22.

⁶ See above, p. 27.

Paññāsāmi succeeded his master as Saṅgharājā in the following reign. It is rather curious that not a single Pali composition is mentioned by him as belonging to this decade. His colleagues were nevertheless very active, especially in translating from the Pali. The *Anguttara*-, *Samyutta*-, and *Dighanikāyas* were translated with their commentaries. The authors of these translations were respectively Paññajotābhīdhaḥa, Mañjotasaddhammalampkāra, and Medhūbhivamsa.¹

We now come to the closing scene of the old Order in Burma. The last of the pious and zealous Burmese kings, perhaps the most sincere of all and the most single-minded in his support of religion, came to the throne. This was Min dōn-min, whose reign, lasting from 1852 to 1877, was a period of peace, good government, and general content, while religion, we are told, was practised with a new enthusiasm not only in the monasteries but in every rank of the laity. The king's command and example, as of old, were all-powerful, and Min-don-min was not like Bodōpayā. His tutor and eulogist, the author of the *Sāsanavamsa*, says less of *cetīyas* and monasteries presented to the Saṅgha than of the vigour with which religious studies were carried on and the precepts of the Buddha observed.

These were golden days, if they are rightly reflected in the verses quoted by Paññāsāmi from his own poem, the *Nāgarājuppatthakathā*,² written to commemorate the founding of the new capital Mandalay (Pali: *Ratanapūra*).³ Paññāsāmi's *Nāgarājuppatthi* has rather more artistic pretensions than the *Rajādhirājaviṇiśaṇi*, being composed in couplets (*śloka*s) throughout, whereas *Nāṇabhivamsa* ventures into verse at the beginning and end of his work merely to give a few specimens of metres. The tone of the two works, however, is the same conventional eulogy, with quotations from the *Jātaka* and references to legendary and historic kings, Mahāsudassana, Maṇḍhātū, Aśoka. Needless to say, this was an auspicious time for scholarship. Paññāsāmi, himself a prolific writer,

¹ *Sās.*, p. 148.

² Founded in 1857.

³ *Sās.*, pp. 149, 153.

mentions the work of some of his contemporaries.¹ The Saṅgharājā Neyyadhamma composed 'at the king's request' a work entitled Saṅgharājagadipani. Meanwhile the old traditional learning was not neglected. The Saṅgharājā had been expounding the commentary on the Majjhimanikaya to his pupils. Under his direction a Burmese translation of the commentary was prepared, embodying his interpretation of the text.

The original text of the Jūtaka tales was also translated at this time by the therā Medhavinvaṇsa.

Finally, we have a list of Paññasami's own works with their dedications. 'At the request of the Queen Consort' he composed two works entitled Siṅgathā and Upāyakathā, evidently of an ethical character. At the request of the king's tutor (a layman) he then wrote the Akkharavivodhanī, a treatise on Pali orthography, and the Āputtivimicchaya, on morality. Paññasami's own preceptor, the Saṅgharājā, urged him, he tells us, to compose the Nagarajuppattikathā above mentioned, the Vohāratthasādhā and Vivādivimicchaya dealing with monastic discipline. For the edification of certain monks, the *tekkakāmuca* and *aroṇatekkakāmuca*,² he wrote the Rājasevakadīpanī (on serving the king). Another work, the Nirayakathādīpanī,³ was undertaken to please another high official. A distinguished layman requested him to write on the *uposathā* rules, and the monk composed the Uposathavimicchaya. Lastly, at the request of 'many of his hearers', he wrote a Pali commentary on the first Pali work that had brought honour to Burmese scholarship, the Saddanīti.

Thus the nineteenth century is linked with the twelfth, the history of Pali literature in Burma repeats itself. Perhaps the desire of these modern theras was before all to revive the ancient tradition as faithfully as possible. That certainly was Min-don-min's own ambition, and when he had gained for himself the title 'Convener of the Fifth Council' he treasured it thenceforth beyond all others.

¹ *Sās.*, p. 514.

² Secretaries and officials charged with drafting and issuing royal decrees.

³ Edifying stories of punishments in hell.

In 1868-71¹ a great assembly of learned monks and teachers was summoned together at the capital, where, the king presiding, they read or recited the sacred texts to restore the best readings. By the royal order a complete text of the Tripitaka was then engraved on stone tablets and placed in shrines. This traditional act duly recorded, we come to another of an importance perhaps little suspected by Min-dōn-min's counsellors—the inauguration of the first printing-press in Upper Burma.

In 1885 Min-don-min's successor lost his throne and the British Army occupied Mandalay. The palace and even the monastery libraries paid their tribute to the conquerors, who, fortunately, were careful (like Anorata) to bear their treasure to safe places, house it with honour, and keep it within the reach of inquiring scholars.

Of the changes brought about in Burma by the annexation we have no occasion to speak here. They affected the Buddhist religion and the Order very little. The author of *A People at School*² points out that the monks of Burma have ceased of late years to exert that direct influence in the affairs of the community which they are known to have used for good while Buddhist kings ruled, and that they have withdrawn more strictly into the cloistered religious life. But their spiritual authority with the people is by no means lessened, and of their literary activity we have abundant evidence in the multitude of modern Pali and Burmese works now printed in Burma. The elaborate official lists of publications in Burma issued by the Indian Government are also instructive and interesting from this point of view.

We cannot conclude our brief survey without a glance at this latest period, the era of the printing-press.

We must begin with Lower Burma, where, in consequence of the British occupation, printing was introduced earlier than in Mandalay. Here we find works by modern Burmese authors and reprints of ancient classics published in increasing numbers from 1870 onwards.

¹ *Upper Burma Gazetteer* vol. 1, p. 86; *Buddhism*, 1906, p. 425.

² See Fielding Hall, *A People at School*, pp. 255, 257.

There is little to be said about these works. We notice a number of new editions of short texts that have become household words with the laity, such as the *Paritta*¹ and the famous *Mangalasutta*,¹ Burmese translations of these and popular works such as the *Lokanīti*, *Namakara*, and *Ratanapañjara*, the last two of which are devotional poems.²

Then we come to vocabularies, works of grammar and rhetoric, among which should be noticed the *Kūvyasūratthasangaha* (1872), by a learned and prolific author, *Chakkindābhāsiri*, and the *Alaṅkāraṇṇasāya*, of the *Yaw-mya-sū Atwin-wun* (written in 1880). This latter is an example of that care to preserve the old traditions of scholarship which we have already noticed, and which is still characteristic of the Burmese Palists. The *Alaṅkāraṇṇasāya* is an edition of *Saṅgharakkhita's* *Subodhālaṅkāra*,³ with a commentary.

In 1882 appeared the *Lokanīti* of *Chakkindābhāsiri*, an ethical poem in Pali, published with a Burmese version. A characteristic little work of the same date is the *Upasakavinicchaya*, a collection of Pali quotations on the religious duties of laymen. The collection was translated and commented in Burmese by a monk of *Primo*, *Paññaramasi*. A work bearing the Pali title *Kammavinicchaya*, but written in Burmese, may be mentioned here, as, fortunately for us, it has been studied and expounded in English by a Burmese scholar, *Shwe Zan Aung*.⁴ The author's name is *Sāgaravamsābhīdhaṇa*.

Modern works dealing with that standard work of metaphysic, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, are very numerous. To take an example, a summary of this important text, with commentary by *U Tin*, was published at *Maulmein* in 1883 under the title *Sarūpatthadīpanī*, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaparīṭṭi*, by *Maung Tun Aung*, in 1897; the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaganthi* in 1898 (by *U Tissa* and *U Jananda*), and several issues of the text itself at various times.

¹ See above, pp. 3, 4.

² These poems reappear in several modern collections, such as the *Hyauk saung twā*, *Hyay saung twā*, etc.

³ On rhetoric (v. JPTS., 1882, p. 55).

⁴ *Buddham*, October, 1903, vol. II. No. 1, pp. 58 ff.

Jagarabhidhaja is a modern author who has written both grammatical and religious treatises. His works include the *Dhammapana-sū-bwè* (moral and philosophical stanzas in Pali with Burmese interpretation, published in 1894), the *Upasakovāda* edifying discourses to the laity, 1894), the *Ovādakatha*, the *Navaniyamadīpanī* (254 aphorisms on Pali grammar), and the *Saddamedhanī* (an essay on various terms of Pali grammar). The same author edited later (1903) the *Parājika* and *Pācittiya* sections of the *Vinaya*, with Burmese interpretation. It is interesting to see that Jagarabhidhaja edited a passage from the Sanskrit *Laṃtāvastava* called the *Kāmādinakathā*.

A rather curious specimen of a modern work in another branch of Pali-Burmese literature is the *Atthasālinīgāṇṭhi* (or *Atthasālinīgāṇṭhi-thit*), published in Rangoon in 1900. This work, described as 'Notes on difficult points in Buddhist philosophy', is briefly analyzed as follows for the guidance of readers: 'A book of expositions on various subjects, namely, on the grammatical construction of the *Tiṭṭaka* or the Buddhist scriptures, on the account of *Kathūvatthu* or book of controverted points, on the thirty events which always take place on the conception of an embryo Buddha, on the threefold divisions of the religion, on the six kinds of divine effulgence; on the relative heights of the Bodhi-tree and Buddha's throne, on the thirty two signs manifested on the birth of embryo Buddha and on the promulgation of his law; on the solicitation of a divine communication of the hermit *Sumedha* at the hands of *Dipankara* Buddha regarding his future Buddhahood, on the principal causes of existence, on the derivation of the names of *Sariputtara* and *Moggallāna*; on the four kinds of lions, on the six *Pañāttas* or manifestations; on the ten *Paramis* or virtues; on the *Ocataparissuddhisīlam* or four precepts of purity, on the four castes of the Brahmins; on the attributes of Buddhist Trinity; on the list of *Rahans* who convened the Buddhist councils, on the law of abstruseness; on the numerousness of existences, on the three kinds of *Pahānas* or getting rid of one's lust; on evil acts; on the three methods of teaching Buddhist scriptures; on the four

kinds of Acinteyya or incomprehensibles, on the names of the Pañcavaggi or the first five disciples of Buddha', and other matters.

Treatises on *nirvāṇa*, arahatahip, and the practice of meditation in its various stages leading to these ends, are numerous, for example (1) the *Visuddhimagga-dīpanī-kyan* (on the nature of religious meditation and methods of practising it, e.g. the *Samathakammattthāna*, *Bhavanakammattthāna*, and *Vipassanā-kammattthāna*. 1900), (2) the *Asaṅkhatadhammapakāsaṇī-kyan*, by U Pym-nya-thika. 1899, on the nature of *nirvāṇa* and the *upāsamānussahī* form of meditation leading thereto, (3) *Sati we-bon-la-shu-bwè*, which explains the three kinds of death—*khaṇṭhikamarāṇa* or the 'momentary death', which consists in the continual wearing away of the body and soul, *samutimaraṇa* or 'so-called death', the visible death to which all beings are subject, and the *samucchedamaraṇa* or 'cessation of existence', said of the death of Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, and arahata.

We turn back with relief to the less perplexing points treated by the authors who confine themselves to Vinaya and grammar. The learned *Visuddhācāra* is an example. Among his works are the *Kaccayanavaggaṇacukka-kyan*, a treatise under six heads upon the introductory stanzas to Kaccāyana's grammar (published in 1896), the *Dhāṭvatthasaṅgaha*, an alphabetical digest of Pali roots and their meanings, in verse, with a Burmese translation; the *Chandomañjarī*, a Pali treatise on metre, followed by a *nissaya* in Burmese (1897); and, departing to another subject, the *Viṣṇugāmasīmāvimocchaya*, a treatise on the determination of village boundaries (1899).

Scholarship in the twentieth century followed the lines first traced as long ago as the twelfth century in Burma. Let us take as an example a learned monk of the most recent times, the venerable Ledi Hsaya-daw, and observe the subjects treated by him in various works published in Rangoon in 1905 and 1906. The list of the Ledi Hsaya-daw's works is long: *Nirutti-dīpanī* (a Pali grammar, and afterwards a Burmese *nissaya* on the same work), *Nibbanadīpanī* (a discourse on *nirvāṇa*), *Rūpadīpanī* (a treatise on Form), *Bodhipakkhīya-dīpanī*, *Ānāpānadīpanī*, and *Ovāda* (the Way to Arahatahip,

treatise on Meditation, and Book of Instruction), *Pāramī-dīpanī* (on Virtue), *Saddasaṅkhepa* (a manual of Pali grammar), *Pabbājanīyakammavacū* (Pali stanzas for recitation as charms), *Dhammadīpanī* (exposition of the Law), *Maggāṅgadīpanī* (the 'Eightfold Path' explained), *Paṭiccaṣamuppādadīpanī* (reflections on the causes of transmigration), *Paramatthasaṅkhepa* (manual of Abhidhamma), *Saccatthadīpanī* (the Four Sublime Truths explained), *Vijjāmaggadīpanī*, *Lakkhaṇadīpanī* (the Way to Enlightenment, the Three Characteristics), *Āhūradīpanī*, *Sīlavimicchaya* (on Food and the Precepts of Morality), *Anattadīpanī* (on Mutability), *Dānadīpanī* (on Charity), and *Dhamma-desanā* (religious teaching).

These works represent fairly well the fields where Pali flourishes to-day—dissertations on points of doctrine, homilies and exhortations, verses which may be called either charms or prayers, decisions on points of discipline, manuals of metaphysic, treatises on Pali grammar. To abundance of new works of this kind modern scholars now add a pious and most useful contribution, careful editions of the Tipitaka texts and commentaries.

A group of writings very insignificant in size, but interesting, or rather curious, from the mere fact of the Pali language being found in such a connexion, is the class of little works headed 'science' in the Pali-Burmese lists. The sciences in question are chiefly astrology and cosmography,¹ but medical treatises occur here and there. And this reminds us again of a field in Burma which merits diligent exploration. While the Pali literature represents vastly more than any other the influence of India on Further India, we should not pass over the fact that a store of Sanskrit learning by no means negligible has existed from time immemorial in that outlying country. This store was always held strictly in Brahmanic keeping. The kings of Burma were generally not only the nominal but real and energetic patrons of learning, and the Brahmins, at all times counsellors and soothsayers in the royal palaces, had an indirect influence on culture. Forchhammer encountered an extreme

¹ Examples are the *Itthipuris-sāgaviññā-pakinnaka-kyan*, a handbook of divination on the formation of the hands and other parts of the body, and a *ṭīkā* on the *Makarandaveda*, a handbook of astrology.

reserve in the Hindu guardians of Brahmanic lore which baffled even his determination and patience as an inquirer. But his conclusion was that 'there exists a real Sanskrit literature in Burma written on paper like in India, with Nagari and Bengali characters. These records are in the hands of the descendants of Hindu colonists, who at different periods, some even before the spread of Buddhism in Burma, settled in this country'. He adds 'Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sanskrit records ought to be made.' And an eminent epigraphist has said very lately, 'we are beginning to obtain valuable records in Burma.'¹ Ancient links connect India with Burma, we can only hope to restore them gradually, and there are many questions which, with all its wealth of legend and chronicle, the Pali literature does not answer fully.²

The great historical service of the Pali literature is to show the peculiarly Buddhist character of Burmese civilization. History in the modern and critical sense we cannot demand of it any more than we demand philology or biology treated with European methods. We need not consider here the possibility of adapting the Pali language to modern knowledge or critical discussion. The true Pali literature is traditional. We may read now, as in old days, of differences of doctrine or opposed schools in the Southern Buddhist community.³ But these seem, from our far-off point of observation, to be a hardly perceptible eddy here and there in the calm main stream of Buddhist belief, as we see it in the

¹ Forchhammer, *Report on Literary Work*, 1879-80, p. 13.

² J F Fleet in *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 83. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India. The Indian Empire*, Oxford, 1907.

³ To take one instance the chronicles hand on an ancient tradition that a royal Kshatriya tribe came from India at a very early period and founded an Indian dynasty in Upper Burma. European scholars cautiously admit that there was an Indian immigration by the northern route, but at what date and for what reason we do not know. See Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 3. Phayre points out that in Lassen's opinion the legend of an Indian dynasty is not quite without foundation. See Forchhammer, 'On the ancient Mahāmuni Pagoda in Arakan': *Report on Arakan*, p. 1.

⁴ Differences in the sects are 'largely academic'. See *Burma*, vol. i, p. 41. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Calcutta, 1908.

religious and scholarly literature of Burma. Having followed that stream back to its mediæval sources, and yet further to its remote Indian origin, we cannot but feel impressed by the continuity of its progress, the force of its unbroken tradition. Buddhism in Burma has suffered nothing parallel to the Mohammedan invasion of India, but the history of Further India has been tempestuous enough. When we follow in the chronicles the struggle of those neighbour states, we must needs wonder at the Law that never failed, in the end, to dominate barbarism, to make customs milder and laws more just, to do away with barriers by raising men above them. Of that 'Righteous Law' as a social and intellectual influence the Pali literature is an almost complete embodiment. Thus, to use the ancient metaphor, India conquered Burma. Of all the conquests in history none has been more enduring or more beneficent.



APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

AN INSCRIPTION OF A.D. 1442

The inscription mentioned on p. 50 is among those collected by Forchhammer at Pagan. It is dated B.E. 804 (1442 A.D.), and commemorates the bestowal of various gifts on the Order by the Governor of Taungdwin and his wife. Together with a monastery, garden, paddy-lands, and slaves, the pious donors offered a collection of texts, of which a list is given. The following list, copied from the inscription, is extremely interesting for more than one reason. Besides helping to fix the chronology of many Pali works and giving some indication of their importance, it gives us another clue well worth following up. We notice here a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but still recognizable. These will aid us to form some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Burma in the fifteenth century. We are not obliged to believe that each monastery contained students of Sanskrit, but we have at least some ground for supposing that certain famous works on grammar, prosody, medicine, and so forth were treasured in Upper Burma.

The discovery that the 'Vedas' found in Burmese, Talaiing, and Siamese versions 'do not contain a trace of Vedic texts' inclined Forchhammer² to some scepticism as to the contents of palm-leaf MSS. bearing the titles of famous old treatises (e.g. the *Sūśruta*). I think, however, that he is speaking of MSS. of a later date. I do not see any reason to doubt that the gift recorded in the Pagan inscription was a collection really containing the works mentioned and not their titles only.

References to Forchhammer's List indicate that MS. copies

¹ *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*. Deciphered from the ink impressions found among Forchhammer's papers. Printed at Rangoon, 1902. Translated with notes by Tun Nyem, Government Printing Press, Rangoon, 1899. The inscription containing the list is mentioned by M. Pallot in article 'Deux itinéraires', BEFEO., vol. v, p. 183.

² *Report*, 1879-80, p. 11.

of the works in question are in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. A few notes are added, but there is obviously room for many more suggestions and conjectures.

List copied from the Inscription.

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Pārājikakaṇḍa. ¹ | 23. Dhātukathā. |
| 2. Pācittiya. | 24. Puggalapaññatti |
| 3. Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. | 25. Kathāvatthu. |
| 4. Vinayamahāvagga. | 26. Mūlayamaka. |
| 5. Vinayaodāgaragga. | 27. Indriyayamaka. |
| 6. Vinayaparivāra. | 28. Tikapaṭṭhāna. |
| 7. Pārājikakaṇḍa-aṭṭhakathā. | 29. Dukatikapaṭṭhāna. |
| 8. Pācittiyaḍḍhi-aṭṭhakathā. | 30. Dukapaṭṭhāna. |
| 9. Pārājikakaṇḍa-ṭīkā. | 31. Atthasālini-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 10. Terasaṅgaṇḍa-ṭīkā. | 32. Sammohavivodani-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 11. Vinayasangraha-aṭṭhakathā (the greater). | 33. Pañcāpakaṣaṇa-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 12. Vinayasangraha-aṭṭhakathā (the less). | 34. Abhidhamma-anuṭṭikā. ⁴ |
| 13. Kaṅkḥāvitaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā. | 35. Abhidhammatthasangaha-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 14. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (ancient). | 36. Abhidhammatthasangaha-ṭīkā. |
| 15. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (new). | 37. Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī-ṭīkā. |
| 16. Kaṅkḥā-ṭīkā (new) | 38. Silakkhandha. ⁵ |
| 17. Vinayagāṇṭhipada. | 39. Mahāvagga. ⁶ |
| 18. Vinaya-uttarasāṅcaya-aṭṭhakathā. ² | 40. Pāṭheyya. ² |
| 19. Vinayasāṅcaya-ṭīkā (later). | 41. Silakkhandha-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 20. Vinayakandhamdessa. | 42. Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 21. Dhammasaṅgani. ³ | 43. Pāṭheyya-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 22. Vibhaṅga. | |

¹ Nos. 1-20 are works belonging to or commenting on the Vinaya. (Edited by Hermann Oldenberg. Vinayapitakam, 5 vols., 1879, etc. Khuddasikkhā and Mūlasikkhā. See edition of E. Müller, JPTS., 1883.)

² See text of inscription. Read *sāṅcaya*, anthology or collection.

³ Abhidhamma (Nos. 21-37). See Dhammasaṅgani, ed. E. Müller, Pali Text Society, 1885; Vibhaṅga, ed. Caroline F. Rhys Davids, PTS., 1904, Dhātukathā, ed. Edmund Gooneratne, PTS., 1898 (with comm.); Puggalapaññatti, ed. Richard Morris, PTS., 1883, Dukapaṭṭhāna and Tikapaṭṭhāna, ed. Caroline F. Rhys Davids, PTS., 1908, Kathāvatthu, ed. Arnold Taylor, PTS., 1894-7, 2 vols., Atthasālini (comm. on Dhammasaṅgani), ed. E. Müller, PTS., 1897.

⁴ By Dhammapāla of Ceylon. Sāa., p. 23.

⁵ See Dighanikāya (Nos. 38-46), ed. Rhys Davids and Estlin Carpenter, PTS., 1889, etc., 3 vols.

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| 44. Silakkhandha-tīkā. | 66. Ekadakatika-āṅguttara. ¹ |
| 45. Mahāvagga-tīkā. | 67. Catukaniṣāṭṭha-āṅguttara. |
| 46. Pāṭheyya-tīkā. | 68. Pañcānupāṭṭha-āṅguttara. |
| 47. Mūlapaṇṇāsa. ¹ | 69. Cha. suttanipāṭṭha-āṅguttara. |
| 48. Mūlapaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā | 70. Aṭṭha-navaṇipāṭṭha-āṅguttara. |
| 49. Mūlapaṇṇāsa-tīkā. | 71. Dasa-ekādaśan. pāṭṭha-āṅguttara |
| 50. Majjhimanipāṇṇāsa. ¹ | 72. Ekanipāṭṭha-āṅguttara-aṭṭha- |
| 51. Majjhimanipāṇṇāsa-aṭṭha- | kathā. |
| 52. Majjhimanipāṇṇāsa-tīkā. | 73. Dukatīkacatukanipāṭṭha- |
| 53. Uparipāṇṇāsa. | āṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 54. Uparipāṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā. | 74. Pañcādi-āṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā |
| 55. Uparipāṇṇāsa-tīkā. | 75. Aṅguttara-tīkā [1]. |
| 56. Sāgāthāvaggasamyutta. ² | 76. Aṅguttara-tīkā [2]. |
| 57. Sāgāthāvaggasamyutta- | 77. Khuddakapāṭṭha text and |
| aṭṭhakathā. | aṭṭhakathā. ⁴ |
| 58. Sāgāthāvaggasamyutta-tīkā. | 78. Dhammapada text and |
| 59. Nidānavaggasamyutta. | aṭṭhakathā. |
| 60. Nidānavaggasamyutta- | 79. Udāna text and aṭṭhakathā |
| aṭṭhakathā. | 80. Itivuttaka text and aṭṭha- |
| 61. Khandhavaggasamyutta. | kathā. |
| 62. Khandhavaggasamyutta-tīkā. | 81. Suttanipāṭṭha text and aṭṭha- |
| 63. Saṅkhyatanavaggasamyutta. | kathā |
| 64. Saṅkhyatanavaggasamyutta- | 82. Vimānavatthu text and |
| aṭṭhakathā. | aṭṭhakathā. |
| 65. Mahāvaggasamyutta. | 83. Petavatthu text and aṭṭha- |
| | kathā. |

¹ See Majjhimanikāya (Nos. 47-55), ed. V Trenckner (vol. 1) and Robert Chalmers (vols. ii and iii), PTS., 1888-1902.

² See Samyuttanikāya (Nos. 56-65), ed. Léon Feer 5 vols. Vol. vi indices. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. PTS., 1884-98.

³ See Aṅguttaranikāya (Nos. 66-76), ed. B. Morris (vols. i and ii) and Edmund Hardy (vols. iii-v), PTS., 1885-1900.

⁴ See Khuddakanikāya and commentaries (Nos. 77-110), Khuddakapāṭṭha, ed. R. C. Childers, J.R.A.S., 1870, Dhammapada, ed. V Fausbøll (1st ed., 1855, 2nd ed., 1900, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpitaka, ed. R. Morris, PTS., 1882, Udāna, ed. Paul Steinthal, PTS., 1885, Itivuttaka, ed. E. Windisch, PTS., 1889, Suttanipāṭṭha, ed. V Fausbøll, PTS., 1884, Vimānavatthu, ed. E. K. Gooneratne, PTS., 1886, Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, ed. E. Hardy, PTS., 1901, Petavatthu, ed. J. P. Minayeff, PTS., 1889, Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, ed. E. Hardy, PTS., 1894, The Theragāthā and Therīgāthā, ed. H. Oldenberg & R. Pischel, PTS., 1893, Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā, ed. E. Müller, PTS., 1893, Jātaka and aṭṭhakathā, ed. V Fausbøll, 7 vols. Other texts are in course of publication by the Pali Text Society.

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| 84. Thera(gāthā) text and aṭṭha-kathā. | 100. Jātaka-tīkā. |
| 85. Therī(gāthā) text and aṭṭha-kathā | 101. Duma-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā |
| 86. Pāṭhacariya. ¹ | 102. Apadāna. |
| 87. Ekkanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā | 103. Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā |
| 88. Dukanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭha-kathā. | 104. Paṭisambhūdamagga. ² |
| 89. Tikkanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. | 105. Paṭisambhūdamagga-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 90. Catuka-paṇṇa-chaṇipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. | 106. Paṭisambhūdamagga-gaṇṭhipada. |
| 91. Saṭṭa-aṭṭha-navampāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā | 107. Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 92. Dasa-ekādasanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. | 108. Visuddhimagga-tīkā. |
| 93. Dvādasā-torasa-pakinnaka-nipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. | 109. Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 94. Visatī-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā. | 110. Carīyapitaka-aṭṭhakathā. |
| 95. Jātattakī-sotattakī-nidāna-aṭṭhakathā. ³ | 111. Nāmarūpa-tīkā (new). ⁴ |
| 96. Cūḷaniddesa. ⁵ | 112. Paramatthavinicchaya (new). ⁶ |
| 97. Cūḷaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā. | 113. Mohavicchedanī |
| 98. Mahāniddesa. | 114. Lokapaññāta. ⁷ |
| 99. Mahāniddesa. ⁸ | 115. Mohanayana. |
| | 116. Lokappatti. |
| | 117. Arunavati. |
| | 118. Chagatidīpanī. ⁹ |
| | 119. Sahassaramasimālinī. ¹⁰ |
| | 120. Dasavattiṇ. ¹¹ |

¹ Text of Carīyapitaka (?).

² A Sotattakī, written in Ceylon, is mentioned in the Pitakatthamain, p. 58.

³ Mahāniddesa, a part of the Khuddakamāyā, 'being an exposition by Saṃputta of sixteen suttas which compose the fourth book or Attakavagga of the Suttaṃpāta' (see *Catalogue of Pali Burmese MSS. in the British Museum*). The Cūḷanī is the second part of the Niddesa.

⁴ Ed. Arnold Taylor, PTS. (1905-1907).

⁵ Nāmarūpaviniśchaya (ppakarana) is 'a treatise belonging to the literature on the Abhidhamma, being an exposition of the Buddhist philosophical term "Nāmarūpa", or Name and Form, by Anuruddha-cariya' (B. M. Pali and Burmese Catalogue). The terms 'new' (or modern) and 'old' (ancient) are translated here from Burmese *thū* and *hōung*.

⁶ On the Abhidhamma. This work (by Anuruddha) is in Forchhammer's *List*, p. xvii.

⁷ By Saddhammaghoṣa of Thatōn.

⁸ By Saddhammaghoṣa of Thatōn. See Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxvi.

⁹ Sahassaramasī, mentioned in P. TH., p. 55, is a tīkā on the Mahābodhi-vāṃsa. It was written at Pagan in the reign of Narapati, A. D. 1174 (B. E. 538). Dasavattiṇ, Sahassavattiṇ, and Sihavattiṇ were composed in Ceylon. The authors are unknown to the P. TH. (p. 57). On Petaṇapadesa see Dissertation, by Rudolf Fuchs, Berlin, 1906.

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| 121. Sahassavatthu. ¹ | 141. Rūpasiddhi-aṭṭhakathā. ⁶ |
| 122. Siḥajavatthu. ¹ | 142. Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā. |
| 123. Peṭakopadesa. | 143. Bāṭavātūra. ⁷ |
| 124. Tathāgatupatti. ² | 144. Vuttamoggallāna. ⁸ |
| 125. Dhammacakka
[? pavattanasutta] | 145. Pañcika-Moggallāna. |
| 126. Dhammacakka-ṭīkā. | 146. Pañcika-Moggallāna-ṭīkā. |
| 127. Dāṭhādhituvamasa. ³ | 147. Kārikā. ⁹ |
| 128. Dāṭhādhituvamasa ṭīkā | 148. Kārikā-ṭīkā. |
| 129. Cūjavamasa. ¹ | 149. Lūgaṭṭhaviṇṇavarāṇa. ¹⁰ |
| 130. Dīpavamasa. ² | 150. Lūgaṭṭhaviṇṇavarāṇa-ṭīkā. |
| 131. Thūpavamasa. ³ | 151. Mukhamattasāra. ¹¹ |
| 132. Anāgatavamasa. ³ | 152. Mukhamattasāraṭṭīkā |
| 133. Bodhivamasa. ¹ | 153. Mahāgāṇa. |
| 134. Mahāvamasa. ¹ | 154. Cū,agāṇa. |
| 135. Mahāvamasa-ṭīkā. ² | 155. Abhidhāna. ¹² |
| 136. Dhammadāna [? in text
dhammandan]. ⁴ | 156. Abhidhāna-ṭīkā. |
| 137. Mahākaccāyana. | 157. Saddan.ti. ⁵ |
| 138. Nyāsa. ⁵ | 158. Cūḷavuruttī. ¹⁴ |
| 139. Than-byin-ṭīkā. ⁶ | 159. Cūḷasandhivissodhana. |
| 140. Mahāthera-ṭīkā | 160. Saddatthabhedacintā. ¹⁵ |
| | 161. Saddatthabhedacintā-ṭīkā |
| | 162. Padasādhana. ¹⁶ |

¹ See note 9 on preceding page.

² By Nāgajamohira (?). Forchhammer, *Loc.*, p. xxv, P TH., p. 60.

³ Written in Ceylon. P TH., pp. 53, 55-7.

⁴ Probably dealing with the *dhammadāna* *saṃvāsa*, the advantage or merit of preaching the law to others.

⁵ See above, p. 21.

⁶ Rūpasiddhi, the well-known Pāli grammar composed in Ceylon by Dīpaṅkara, otherwise Buddhapiya.

⁷ By Dhammakitti or Saddhammakitti. Forchhammer, *Loc.*, p. xxiii. A Pāli grammar of the Kaccāyana school.

⁸ The Moggallānavyākaraṇa is accompanied with the *vatta* or explanation. See Devamitta's edition, Colombo, 1890.

⁹ See above, p. 16.

¹⁰ See above, p. 22.

¹¹ See above, p. 25.

¹² Abhidhāna, the Abhidhānappadīpikā of Moggallāna, about 1153 A.D., 'the only dictionary of synonyms in the Pāli language' (Subhūti). The text was edited in 1883 by the *thera* Subhūti and a complete index (Abhidhānappadīpikāśūci) in 1893.

¹³ See above, pp. 16, 17.

¹⁴ Cūḷavuruttī, a grammar of the Kaccāyana school.

¹⁵ See above, pp. 20, 22.

¹⁶ Padasādhana (?). The Padasādhana is a Pāli grammar composed in Ceylon.

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| 163. Sambandhacintā-ṭikā. ¹ | 179. Kaccāyanaśāstra. ¹⁰ |
| 164. Rūpāvatāra. ² | 180. Bālappebodhana. ¹ |
| 165. Saddāvatāra. | 181. Atthasālini. |
| 166. Saddhammadīpaka. | 182. Atthasālini-nissaya. |
| 167. Setamālīni. ³ | 183. Kaccāyana-nissaya. |
| 168. Sambandhamālīni. ⁴ | 184. Rūpasiddhi-nissaya. |
| 169. Padāvaḥaṃmahācakkā
[Padāvatāra?]. | 185. Jātaka-nissaya. |
| 170. Nvādi [Moggallāna]. ⁵ | 186. Jātakaganṭhi. |
| 171. Kaccādi [Kṛt-cakra?]. | 187. Dhammapadaganṭhi-nissaya. |
| 172. Mahākā [°kappa or
°kaccāyana?]. | 188. Kammavācā. ¹¹ |
| 173. Bālettajana [Bālāvatāra?] | 189. Dhammasatta. ¹² |
| 174. Suttāvali. ⁶ | 190. Kalāpapañcīkā [°pañjikā]. ¹⁴ |
| 175. Akkharasammohacchedani. ⁷ | 191. Kalāpapañcīkā-ṭikā. |
| 176. Cetaddhīnemiṃpangāthā
[sic] [?]. | 192. Kalāpasuttapratīṇṇācaku
[?°patīṇṇāpaka] ṭikā. |
| 177. Samāsaṭaddhitadīpani. ⁸ | 193. Pīṇḍo-ṭikā. ¹⁵ |
| 178. Bījakkhyam. ⁹ | 194. Rattamālā. ¹⁶ |
| | 195. Rattamālā-ṭikā. |
| | 196. Roganidāsa. ¹⁷ |

¹ See above, p. 22, and P TH, p. 67² A treatise on inflection (?).³ Sotabbamālīni (?). The work of that name is a collection of edifying tales.⁴ A treatise on syntactical relation (?).⁵ Nvādi Moggallāna, a treatise on gender by Saṅgharakkhita based on Moggallāna.⁶ Suttāvali = Sūtras of Kaccāyana.⁷ On analysis of words or correct division of syllables.⁸ On compounds and suffixes.⁹ Bījakkhyam, on algebra (?).¹⁰ See above, pp. 36, 37¹¹ Written at V. Jayapura (Panyā), author not known. P TH, p. 72.¹² See above, pp. 6, 7. ¹³ Dharmasāstra (Law code). See above, pp. 33, 34.¹⁴ Commentary on the Katantra grammar (see above, p. 26), Forchhammer, *Report*, 1879-80, p. 12 ('The Katantra seems to have been the most influential of these later grammars [not belonging to the Pāṇinian system], having served as a model for the standard Pali grammar of Kaccāyana and for the native grammars of the Tibetans and Dravidians'), A. A. Macdonell, article *Sanskrit Literature in the Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*The Indian Empire*, vol. II, p. 251), see also Weber, *Ind. Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., pp. 243, 338, also the text Katantra of Sarvaśvara with the commentary of Durgasimha, ed. J. Eggeling, *Bibl. Indica*, vol. lxxx.¹⁵ Probably Vyāsa, the medical treatise by the author of that name. See Jolly, *Medicine*, pp. 4 and 6. *Grundriss*, III, 10).¹⁶ Perhaps Ratnamālā. Possibly the famous dictionary *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā*, of Hāṇyudha, about the middle of the tenth century. See Zacharias, *Die Indischen Wörterbücher* (*Grundriss*, I, 33), p. 5, and Ludwig Heller's *Hāṇyudha's Kavirahasya* (Göttingen, 1894).¹⁷ Medicine, possibly the Mādhavanidāna or a work based on that. *Hauptwerk*. See Jolly, *Medicine*, p. 7.

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| 197. Dabraguna. ¹ | 214. Sārasaṅgaha. ¹⁴ |
| 198. Dabraguna-ṭikā. | 215. Sārappuṇḍa. |
| 199. Chandovietti. ² | 216. Paṭipattisaṅgaha. |
| 200. Candaprutṭa ³ [Cāndra-
vṛtti]. | 217. Sūlacchāraka. ¹¹ |
| 201. Candrapañjikā. ⁴
[°pañjikā]. | 218. Pālataḥka [bālatarka ?, logic
for beginners ?]. |
| 202. Kāmandaki. ⁵ | 219. Trakkabhāṣā. ¹² [Tarkabhāṣā] |
| 203. Dhammapaññāpakaraṇa. | 220. Saddakārikā |
| 204. Mahosaṭṭhi [Mahosaḍḍha ?]. ⁶ | 221. Kāṇḍapruttipalini. ¹³ |
| 205. Subodhālamkāra. ⁷ | 222. Saddhammadīpaka. |
| 206. Subodhālamkāra-ṭikā. | 223. Satyatatvavabodha [?]. |
| 207. Tanogabuddhi [?]. | 224. Bālapabodhana-
pruttakarapa. |
| 208. Tanḍi [Dandīn ?]. ⁸ | 225. Atthabyākhyam. ¹⁴ |
| 209. Tanḍi-ṭikā. | 226. Cūḷaniruttimañjūsā. ¹⁴ |
| 210. Caṅkadāsa. ⁹ | 227. Mañjūsāṭṭhikābyākhyam. ¹⁴ |
| 211. Ariyasaccāvatāra. | 228. Anuṭṭikābyākhyam. |
| 212. Vicetragaṇḍha. | 229. Pakinnakaniḥkāya. |
| 213. Saddhammapāya. ¹⁰ | 230. Catthapayoga [?]. |

¹ Dravyagunasamgraha (pharmacology). See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 6; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxxv.

² Explanation of metres.

³ On the Cāndra grammar and its relation to the Pali grammar of Moggallāna see articles by O. Franke, JPTS., 1902-3, also A. C. Burnell, on The Andra School of Sanskrit Grammarana, Mangalore, 1876.

⁴ For Kāmandaki's Nīṭhāra (elements of Polity) see the edition of S. Venkatarāma Śāstry, Madras, 1895, and studies by Carlo Formichi, *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, Florence, 1887.

⁵ See the Mañjū-nāgga Jātaka, in which Mahosaḍḍha is the Bodhisatta). Faustell, *Jātaka*, vol. vi, pp. 329-478.

⁶ Subodhālamkāra on rhetoric was composed in Ceylon by Saṅgha-rakkhita. P. TH., p. 75. See edition of G. E. Fryer (under title *Pali Studies*, 1875).

⁷ The work inscribed is probably Dandīn's Kāvyaśāra.

⁸ Evidently Caṅgadāsa, author of the Caṅgakārikā, aphorisms on grammar (Kāntara school). See edition of Jagannadhaśvamy, *Vuṣaṅga*, 1896.

⁹ Saddhammapāyana by Ānanda, ed. Richard Morris, JPTS., 1887.

¹⁰ Sārasaṅgaha, 'a compilation of important points in Buddhism' (so described in the British Museum Catalogue of Pali MSS).

¹¹ Presumably an abridged version of the famous medical work Cāraka-saṃhitā. See Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 11.

¹² The Tarkabhāṣā, on logic, of Keçavarṇiśa (?).

¹³ A commentary on the Kāṇḍakāvṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana, on Pāṇini (?). See *Zwei Kapitel der Kāvīti überstet und mit einer Einleitung versehen*, von Bruno Luebich, Breslau, 1892.

¹⁴ Grammatical commentaries or glosses.

231. Matthapayoga [?].
 232. Rogayātrā [on medicine?].
 233. Rogayātrā-tīkā.
 234. Satthekavipassaprakāsa [?]
 235. Rājamattanta.¹
 236. Parāsava.²
 237. Koladdhaja.³
 238. Brihajjātaka.⁴
 239. Brihajjātaka-tīkā.
 240. Dāṭhādāhūtvamsa and tīkā.⁵
 241. Patigavivēka-tīkā [?]
 242. Alampkāra tīkā [on Subodhā-
 lampkāra?]
 243. Calindapaññakā [com-
 mentary on C°?].
 244. Vedavidhūmūttanirutti-
 vāṇanā.⁶
 245. Niruttabyākhyam.
 246. Vuttodaya.⁷
 247. Vuttodaya-tīkā.
 248. Mūlindapañña [in text
 Malinapañña]
 249. Sīratthasaṅgaha.⁸
 250. Amarakosaṇṇaya.
 251. Piṇḍo ṇṇaya.
 252. Kaṭṭhapaṇṇaya.
 253. Roganidānabyākhyam
 254. Dabbragaṇa tīkā.
 255. Amarakosa.
 256. Daṇḍi-tīkā
 257. Daṇḍi-tīkā.
 258. Daṇḍi-tīkā.
 259. Koladhveja-tīkā.
 260. Alampkāra
 261. Alampkāra-tīkā
 262. Bhesajjamaññisā.⁹
 263. Yuddhajeyya [Yuddhā-
 dhyāya?].
 264. Yatanaprabhā-tīkā
 [Ratana°?]¹⁰
 265. Viragdhā.¹¹
 266. Viragdhā-tīkā.
 267. Cūlamanisāra.
 268. Rājamattanta-tīkā.¹²
 269. Mṛtyuvāṇana
 270. Mahākālacakka
 271. Mahākālacakka } [Cāiva
 tīkā } works?].

¹ Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. xxxvii and xxxviii, Rājamattam and Rājamattaniṇṇaya. Probably the (astrological) Rājamartanda.

² Laghupārśvāgāyam (on astrology) (?).

³ This may be the Goḍḍhyāya of the astronomical treatise Siddhānta Cīromapa, by Bhāskaraśārya, A.D. 1114. See Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 435, other references see Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 139.

⁴ The Brihajātaka of Varāhamihira, a well-known work on astrology.

See above, p. 108. Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, p. lxxvii.

⁵ P. TH. p. 55.

⁶ An exposition of rules of divination (?).

⁷ The Vuttodaya, a standard Pali work on prosody, was written in Ceylon in the twelfth century by Saṅgharakkhita. See edition of Major Fryer, JASB, 1877. See in Mr. Tha Do Oung's Pali grammar (published 1902) the section on metrics.

⁸ A medical work so called was written by Buddhadasa, king of Ceylon, in the fourth century (Jolly, *Medicine*, p. 16).

⁹ On medicine.

¹⁰ A medical work called Ratnaprabhā is mentioned by R. Hoernle in JRAS, 1906, p. 289 (*Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine*).

¹¹ Probably a copyist's mistake for Vidagdhā, = Vidagdhāmukhamandana on riddles, by Dharmadāsa. See above, p. 28.

¹² Cf. Forchhammer, *List*, pp. lxxv ff., section v, the medical, astronomical, astrological works, etc., and *Report*, 1879-80, pp. 10 ff.

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| 272. Paraviveka [commentary on Parahita?]. | 284. Shyārāmitakabya [?]. |
| 273. Kaccāyana-rūpavatāra. | 285. Yuttisangaha. |
| 274. Pumbharasāri [or °karsasāri in text] [?]. | 286. Yuttisangaha-tīkā. |
| 275. Taktāvatāra [Tattvāvatāra?] | 287. Sārasangaha-nissaya. |
| 276. Taktāvatāra-tīkā. | 288. Rogayātrā-nissaya. |
| 277. Nyāyabindu. ¹ | 289. Roganidāna-nissaya. |
| 278. Nyāyabindu-tīkā. | 290. Saddatthabhedacintānissaya. |
| 279. Hetubindu. ² | 291. Pūrānissaya. |
| 280. Hetubindu-tīkā. | 292. Shyārāmitakabya nissaya [?]. |
| 281. Bikkhaṇiyayātrā [?]. | 293. Brihajjātaka-nissaya. |
| 282. Bikkhaṇiyayātrā-tīkā. | 294. Rattamālā. |
| 283. Barittaratākara [Vṛttaratnākara?]. ³ | 295. Narayuttisangaha. |

¹ The ancient collection of Sūtras on logic called Nyāyabindu. See Peterson's preface to his edition of Dharmottara's Nyāyabindutīkā, Calcutta, 1889 (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

² On logic (ś).

³ The Vṛttaratnākara (on metres), by Kedara Bhaṭṭa.



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